"SMOOTH AS BUTTER": PRACTICES OF MUSIC LEARNING AMONGST AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this qualitative study was to describe and analyze the musical content and learning processes apparent among African-American children in Tucson, Arizona, in two settings—an out-of-school summer program and an in-school student-focused musical activity period. Of primary interest were how African-American children demonstrated musical knowledge and skills amongst each other and what the knowledge and skills consisted of.

The theoretical issues guiding this study came from research focused on sociocultural perspectives of learning, African-American children's musical play, and multicultural music education. The conceptual framework for the study is a sociocultural approach based upon Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1978, 1986) and modern interpretations of Vygotsky, such as Barbara Rogoff's (1990) notion of apprenticeships and Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's (1991) communities of practice. Data was collected primarily through participant observations and formal and informal interviews of the two aforementioned groups in a combined ethnographic and case study design. Field notes, audiotape recordings, videotape recordings, photographs, school enrollment forms, and participant-requested materials were all procedures and devices used in data collection. Jordan and Henderson's (1995) method of interaction analysis provided the outline for data analyses, while the specific protocol of Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) was implemented for field note and audiotape analyses and Collier and Collier's (1986) method of photograph and videotape analyses was followed.

The results of this study lead to several arguments. First, children learn music by participating to varying degrees within a community of practice. Individuals within the group serve as sources of information and skill based upon their own expertise and

interest creating an environment of reciprocity and shifting leadership. Furthermore, the bonds of friendship strengthen these communities of practice by providing pre-established common ground, intimacy, and concern amongst members. Second, musical play simultaneously functions to prepare children for adult life and allows children to engage in recreational entertainment. Moreover, the activities serve the distinct purposes of identity and gender-role formation and allow for exploration in areas of power and sexuality, especially as they apply to females. Finally, although specific musical abilities may not be chronologically developmental, engaging in particular musical activities is. Handclaps were most common among children ages seven to nine years, drills were practiced mainly between the ages of nine to 11 years, and dances were most frequent amongst children ages 11 to 12 years. A possible reason for the age-graded activities might be the increasing awareness and use of social commentary present in the lyrics and movements of a music activity genre, rather than the technical complexity across a musical activity genre or genres.

The implications of these findings are for music educators who would like to improve their understanding of African-American musical traditions and revise their teaching methods to be sensitive to this cultural group; creators of music curricula and standards choosing to reform existing ideology and materials to be more multiculturally comprehensive; ethnomusicologists concerned with expanding information regarding the musical culture of African-American children; and educational psychologists interested in expanding the area of sociocultural learning theory, especially regarding ideas of learning through practice, contexts of activity, and developmental sequencing of knowledge and skills.

I dedicate this work to my husband, Jeremy Payne, for all of his support and understanding throughout these difficult years. Without your certainty, strength, and love, I could never have accomplished this task. The journey continues.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an ethnographic study of music learning processes among African-American children. The children selected for this study were part of one of two groups: an out-of-school summer program at a local neighborhood center and an in-school student-focused music activity period at a local elementary school. The study was based primarily on the observations of and interviews with a self-selected group of children at the summer program who wished to demonstrate musical activities for the researcher and a researcher-selected group of children at the school whose musical activities were primarily initiated by the researcher. This first chapter of the dissertation presents the background of the study, states the research problem and describes its significance, gives an overview of the methodology used, and provides a synopsis of the major findings.

Background and Significance of the Study

This study was borne out of an increasing academic interest in multiculturalism as it applies to education. Multicultural education speaks to both equality and equity in schooling. A common misconception in education is that equal access to public schools in the United States ensures equivalent learning experiences within them. While obvious inequalities that can be rectified are the physical surroundings and location of a school, the materials and classes available to students, and the quantity and quality of teachers employed, the more concealed disparities are the transmission of knowledge, evaluating

the importance of knowledge, and even defining knowledge. In other words, how do children learn best, why are particular skills and information emphasized in school, and how does our society determine what knowledge is? Attempts to reconcile what is happening in terms of curriculum, teaching practices, and classroom culture have culminated in what is known as multicultural education[1]. Although agreement does not exist in the definition[2] of this approach, I think it is safe to say that the *intent* is to improve cultural awareness of teachers and students and change the current philosophy of education to reflect this burgeoning consciousness[3].

Music education has not been overlooked in the movement of multiculturalism (see Volk, 1993; Quesada and Volk, 1997). Furthermore, I would argue that music is a particularly fertile subject area for a multicultural approach because fields steeped in artistic endeavors, such as drama, visual art, dance, and music, are commonly accepted as subjects that include diverse practices and ideas due to the noticeable differences in cultural products. Thus, taking a multicultural approach to these subjects would be facilitated by access to a varied "world" content, whereas, in fields such as mathematics or biology, the content of the subjects may not be as obviously distinguishable between cultural groups.

However, the ease of content integration into a multicultural music program is also the biggest obstacle to understanding musical cultures. Music educators trying to

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[1] Noll (1997) attributes the beginning of the multicultural education movement to the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education's "No One American" statement in 1972. This treatise advocated educational reforms aimed at increasing global awareness and furthering cultural consciousness.
[2] Banks (1997) argues that a comprehensive approach to multicultural education should incorporate content integration, reduction of prejudices, equitable pedagogy, empowering school culture and social structure, and knowledge construction processes. He further states that the problem with most multicultural programs is that they only focus on content integration, neglecting broader socio-cultural issues.
[3] See Corso's (1997) master's thesis for a more in-depth review of multiculturalism as it applies to music education in the United States.

use a multicultural approach often include content from "outside" cultures, but do not always situate the knowledge and skills within the social and psychological contexts of origin. Furthermore, the use of multicultural resources is generally for the purpose of reinforcing what are deemed basic concepts, or "common elements," in music: melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, and form. For example, a music teacher might use the audible music of a Northeast American Intertribal round dance to illustrate the Western idea of 6/8 meter (concept of rhythm), while neglecting to provide the visual or informational contexts that would emphasize the symbolism of the round dance or significance of the circle among Native American peoples, and possibly even overlooking the prospect that 6/8 meter is a foreign concept within that culture! This failing results in stereotyping "other" musical cultures and strengthening a singular Westernized view of musical practices and people. The need in research, then, is to undertake studies focused on *sociocultural contexts of music makings and meanings* and integrate those understandings with multicultural music education.

Because of the nature of the research sites for this study (i.e., informal, non-instructed contexts in which musical practices might unexpectedly surface), ethnomusicological research describing participatory music cultures, such as those of the Shona mbira players of Zimbabwe, Prespa wedding singers of Albania, and Conimeños panpipe players of Peru, are relevant sources informing this study. This research includes perspectives on the sociocultural contexts of music—how music is made and what it means within the culture of origin. Unfortunately, however, information specifically detailing music learning among children is not always presented, as a more holistic view of the community is often the focus. Thus, informal learning issues concerning children

also need to be incorporated. Issues such as how the children demonstrate musical skill and knowledge, the social nature of music-learning interactions, and how music is learned and passed on amongst children, will be addressed in this study. Although literature regarding informal learning contexts in music is somewhat limited, it is available, and work outside the realm of music concerning informal learning and cultural practices will certainly be used. In short, this study has both practical and theoretical concerns.

Statement of the Problem

This study investigated the music learning processes of two groups of African-American children in Tucson, Arizona. While the qualitative nature of the study necessitated open-ended observation and description, the general question this research attempted to answer is: what are the processes of learning music that African-American children exhibit when working with one another outside of an adult-guided, instructional context? This general question subsumes several related, more specific questions: (a) what genres of music or types of musical activities are apparent amongst the African-American children in this study; (b) are these musical activities similar or different between the two study groups; (c) what are the musical and social natures of the music learning processes demonstrated by the children in this study; and (d) are the learning processes similar or different between the two groups?

While music education research includes studies of African-American peoples, only a small portion focuses on learning processes in music, specifically as they relate to non-schooled shared understandings between children. Thus, the rationale for using two

different contexts for music making with separate groups of children was to illuminate the character of these processes through comparison and possibly find patterns of interaction that would generalize to other groups of African-American children. Furthermore, African-American children were chosen not only because music education needs to address this culture more fully, but also because African-American children seemed a fruitful source to study in terms of peer interaction and support in music making (see Harwood, 1983, 1992, 1993, 1998; Gaunt 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Merrill-Mirsky, 1988; and Riddell, 1990). The hope is that the results of this research will be of value to: (a) music educators who would like to expand their understanding of African-American musical traditions and contexts of learning; (b) creators of music curricula and standards who choose to integrate the results into existing ideologies and materials; (c) ethnomusicologists concerned with expanding information regarding the musical culture of African-American children; and (d) educational psychologists who are interested in adding to the area of sociocultural learning theory, especially regarding ideas of learning through practice, contexts of activity, and developmental sequencing of knowledge and skills, specifically as it relates to musical communities of practice.

Overview of the Methodology

As Krathwohl (1998) proposes, qualitative methods of research are useful when the researcher wants to explore human activity and maintain some sense of context. Such methods support an emic perspective allowing for a more holistic, detailed view of participants' lives than quantitative techniques provide. Furthermore, this study is one in which discovery rather than confirmation is essential; the research is to emerge from the

activities and discussions of the subjects. The goal, then, is to understand, not to explain, which is a better fit to the nature of the research questions framing this study.

Data was collected primarily through observation and interviews of two groups: (the Ocotillo group) African-American children (ages five to twelve years) enrolled in a neighborhood center's summer program in Tucson, Arizona, and (the Saguaro group) African-American children (ages five to nine years) enrolled in a Tucson elementary school. Research was conducted with the summer program members, the Ocotillo group, on a daily basis during weekdays for several hours a day from June through August, 2001, and the site was briefly revisited in August, 2002, for follow-up meetings. Participants at the school site, the Saguaro group, were selected to meet with the researcher for thirty minutes once per week from January through May, 2002. Field notes, audiotape recordings, videotape recordings, photographs, school enrollment forms, and participant-requested materials were all procedures and devices used in data collection. Methodological procedures included participant observation, informal and formal interviews, and document and artifact collection.

The overall framework for interpreting results was based upon Jordan and Henderson's (1995) notion of interaction analysis. The underlying premise of such analyses is that "knowledge and action are fundamentally social in origin, organization, and use, and are situated in particular social and material ecologies" (Jordan and Henderson, 1995, p. 41). Thus, knowledge is not held within the minds of individuals, which would demand a homunculus of sorts and a transmission-acquisition model of learning, but is situated, instead, in the interactions between members of a community of practice (see Lave and Wenger, 1991). Using this model to guide overall analyses, the

specific protocol of Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995) was implemented for field note and audiotape analyses and Collier and Collier's (1986) method of photograph and videotape analyses was followed.

Synopsis of Major Findings

Several findings were significant in this study. First, African-American children at both sites of research demonstrated and participated in handclapping, drills, and dances regularly. In this setting, handclapping was most frequently engaged in among children ages seven to nine years, drills were activities practiced mainly by children from nine to 11 years, and dances were most common for children ages 11 to 12 years. Observing these activities and interviewing children yielded much information regarding the social nature of these musical activities. Most importantly, the children in both settings formed a community of practice in which all members of a group participated in an activity to various degrees depending upon interest, knowledge, and skill (although the Ocotillo neighborhood group did so to a greater extent than the Saguaro school group did). Experts or leaders in the group also varied according to who had the expertise and desire to act as a resource and guide the group. For example, a participant might be especially skilled in performing a particular dance, and would thus lead the group in the dance. However, this same participant might not be able to perform a specific handclap well, and would defer to someone with more knowledge and skill of the activity. These examples illustrate how the communities were characterized by reciprocity and shifting leadership stemming from the differences in expertise and interest.

Highly related to this, friendship served to facilitate a group's interactions, allowing for deeper understanding and trust between members, and shared values among members provided an underlying coherence to the community. Friendship became a salient feature of the communities primarily because the neighborhood children were friends prior to the study, while the school children were familiar with one another, but not necessarily friends. The friendship played an important role in the accomplishment of tasks and the collective motivation spurring activities.

Finally, it was evident that musical activities allowed for participants to express themselves and experiment with issues of identity, especially as it related to power, sexuality, and gender roles. Additionally, the public media seemed to play a major role in how identity is co-created by children and the sounds, images, expectations, and norms from society. These issues of identity and media might provide an explanation for why the musical activities were age graded, since they did not increase in technical complexity across a music activity genre or genres: participants had a growing awareness and use of social commentary that was present in the lyrics and movements of a music activity genre.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation includes a literature review including information regarding sociocultural learning theories, learning through play, African-American children's musical activities, and features of musical learning in Chapter Two. The literature review is followed by a detailed explanation of the methodology including the instruments and materials used, procedures used, and the data analyses in Chapter

Three. Chapter Four consists of a detailed description of the context for research, specific research sites, and the participants involved in the study. Next is a detailed description of the results, arranged according to the musical activities that the participants engaged in. Finally, Chapter Six is an examination and interpretation of the musical learning processes as they apply to the musical activities. This final chapter ends with a summary of the analysis, implications for practice, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is a review of theoretical and empirical literature on topics related to this study of how African-American children learn music outside of adult-guided contexts. Because this project focuses on informal contexts of learning music with an emphasis on the activities of a community, the theoretical literature is based on sociocultural theories of learning and development (e.g., Lev Vygotsky, 1978, 1997, Barbara Rogoff, 1990, 2003, and Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, 1991). The subject matter of learning music informally also necessarily encompasses a broad scope of empirical research. Thus, the empirical section of the chapter discusses learning through play, musical play activities, features of music learning, and studies of apprenticeship in music. The literature review is concluded with a summary highlighting the key concepts of the empirical research.

Sociocultural Theories of Learning

"Music *is* culture," (Bowman, 1998b, p. 2). This profound philosophical and anthropological statement frames the theory for this study. The simplicity of Bowman's (1998b) idea, however, is deceiving. If music is culture, then it follows that music is a dynamic process, rather than a static product. Bowman (1995) argues, "Music is not simply a collection of products or objects. *Fundamentally, music is something that people do,*" (p. 39). This supposition rests on the idea that culture is a dynamic "constellation of habits" (Turino, personal communication, November 10, 2003), rather

than a repository of unchanging information and folkways. In other words, one cannot go to the "Black Culture" to retrieve facts about how *those* people behave. One first has to think about what Black is...Black is as Black does?

In relation to learning, then, it follows that to understand music learning, one would need to observe the interactive practices of a group. Who is involved in music making? Why are these people participating? Are the practices of the group similar or different to practices of other people? What does the music sound and look like? Does the music sound or look like music of other people? What purposes or functions does the music serve? The last query is probably most critical—why is music happening? Attempting to understand these questions offers a limited view, but a view nonetheless, into culture *as it occurs*. For these reasons, sociocultural learning theories are most relevant for appreciating the music learning processes of participants in this study, and are, thus, discussed as they apply in the following sections.

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory of Development

Lev Vygotsky's (1896-1934) view of cognition was founded upon social learning and symbolic mediation. Although not readily accepted as a major contribution to theories of cognitive development in the U.S. until the 1960s, his major works, *Mind in Society* (1978) and *Thought and Language* (1986), have become fundamental to sociocultural perspectives of psychology and education. Many current theorists, such as Barbara Rogoff, Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, James Wertsch, and Luis Moll, among others, have extrapolated his ideas and provided refinements Vygotsky was unable to offer due to his untimely death.

According to Vygotsky, when children are born, they have mental capacities similar to animals in terms of perception, attention, and memory. However, when children begin to experience and interact with their environment, they develop cognitive abilities that separate them from other species. They are soon capable of mental representation and symbolic exchanges with others. In addition, children begin to use tools that enable them to reach particular understandings or goals. These abilities and understandings continue to build upon one another making cognitive development proceed in a quantitative manner. (Visualize cognitive development as a slope.) In other words, all previous understandings are the foundation for future understandings. Although superficially similar to the notion of Piagetian schemes, overall, this is very different from the qualitatively distinct stages of cognitive development advocated by Piaget. (Visualize cognitive development as a set of steps.) From a musical standpoint, development that is experientially based would culminate in an individual building upon skills and knowledge acquired through interacting with the environment (e.g., reproducing songs heard in church). In a maturational model, children would develop musical abilities based upon innate cognitive maturation (e.g., not producing melodic songs until such time as the child can distinguish all tones represented in the song).

Vygotsky also viewed the cognitive abilities of children to be more than that which could be determined by a review of "already *completed* developmental cycles," what Vygotsky called the "*actual developmental level*" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 85). He argued that this view was common among learning theorists, but that a more informative approach to development was to look at what children could accomplish with assistance from others. He called this the zone of proximal development (ZPD): "It is the distance

between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration of more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). In music, this might be understood through the example of a person unable to play an etude on the piano alone, but able to play it in its entirety with the assistance of a more skilled player pointing out problem areas. Although Vygotsky was not completely explicit about how interactions dealing with the zone of proximal development would proceed in all domains, current researchers agree that two particular aspects are important in the exchanges (Berk, 1997, p. 258).

The first critical aspect of ZPD interactions is called intersubjectivity. Intersubjectivity refers to the different understandings held by both the novice and expert learner in a problem-solving exchange. Referring back to the piano example, intersubjectivity would include such aspects as both players' knowledge of the etude and their independent playing skills, as well as their expectations for the completion of the task. In such interchanges, the novice and expert co-create an atmosphere of intersubjectivity through the novice's redefinition of the problem in terms of the expert's perspective, rather than the expert simply modeling appropriate behavior as would be suggested by traditional social learning theorists (Diaz, Neal, & Amaya-Williams, 1990, p. 140). After the novice and expert share a common definition of the problem, then the responsibility of the task is gradually transferred to the novice (Diaz, Neal, & Amaya-Williams, 1990 p. 140). This transference of responsibility refers to the second feature of the zone of proximal development—scaffolding.

Scaffolding encompasses the expert changing the amount and quality of instructional support given to the novice during a particular learning session (Berk, 1997, p. 249). A novice solving a completely unfamiliar problem may require almost complete guidance by the expert. However, as the novice's ability increases, the expert withdraws assistance and advice keeping with the novice's competence. Eventually, the novice will be able to solve the problem or complete the task without assistance from the expert. So, again, in playing the etude, the expert may model the piece and explain what he or she feels is important in the music. Then, the novice may try playing the etude with these ideas in mind. After the novice plays, the expert might ask the novice what he or she feels needs to be corrected and how and offer feedback and advice in order to reach these expectations. The expert might also model the specific parts in question. The novice may then continue to practice the piece with an ongoing negotiation between the novice and expert. Gradually, responsibility for the task will be transferred to the novice and the expert's support will be withdrawn.

In sum, Vygotsky's sociocultural theory is a socially deterministic perspective that views environment and experiences with others as the primary factors for determining cognitive growth. Social interaction and assistance and verbal dialogues facilitate learning and are the basis for exchanging social meanings. Vygotsky described these interactions as one participant being in a zone of proximal development, the area of competence between which the novice can independently function and function with the help of a skilled partner. This assistance, or scaffolding, involves intersubjectivity in the problem-solving exchange, where each person comes to the learning situation with different understandings. Language, other symbols, and tools, material or conceptual,

play the role of transmitting culturally constructed knowledge and adapting to the social world, essentially affording or constraining learning and development in a global sense.

Rogoff's Sociocultural Activity Model of Development

While Vygotsky's ideas are a fundamental basis for understanding informal contexts of learning, recent theory has adopted more active views of development and learning. The focus in learning theory has shifted from an individual-environment dichotomy to the *processes* involving both individual and environment. As Rogoff (1997) details, the established models are those of transmission, in which knowledge and thoughts come from the environment to the brain of the individual, and acquisition, where the individual gathers information and ideas from the environment (p. 266). In both of these views, learning or teaching is one-sided: in the transmission model, the environment is at work, and in the acquisition model, the individual is active. These models also necessarily emphasize a storage metaphor, that is, learning consists of acquiring information and skills and storing them for later use.

Rogoff (1997) explicates, "the boundary between individual and environment disappears if development is viewed as *transformation of participation*," [italics added] (p. 267). The transformation of participation framework uses sociocultural activity as the unit of analysis, rather than the individual. In doing so, different aspects of the activity can be foregrounded, although none are ever isolated from one another. Rogoff refers to these aspects as lenses or planes of analysis. The first lens, the personal plane, focuses on how individuals change through their participation in an activity. An individual will engage in related or subsequent activities differently due to previous involvement. The changing nature of a child's participation and responsibility is essentially how

development occurs (Rogoff, 1997, p. 267). The interpersonal plane is the second lens. This lens illustrates how people communicate with one another, coordinate efforts, and otherwise arrange or organize activity. In this realm, these efforts not only facilitate, but also restrict the involvement of persons in a context of activity. Finally, the community plane of analysis is driven by institutional and cultural practices built upon historical events. In this view, people engage in organized activities guided by the values and goals of the larger culture (Rogoff, 1997, p. 269).

Transformation of participation can be thought of more simply as a sociocultural activity model of development. Rogoff advocates an activity model because children can be viewed as active participants in their environments who organize their own development through the assistance of other people in interactions or activities within a broad socioculturally ordered context (1990, p. 39). Although this is similar to Vygotsky's notion of scaffolding, a primary difference is that novices not only receive assistance from more skilled partners, they are also responsible for positioning themselves in learning situations. In other words, while there exists a foundation of shared problem solving between novice and expert, the novice does not sit idly by waiting for instruction. Furthermore, the novice-expert dyad is expanded into a network of novices and experts of varying degrees of skill in Rogoff's activity model. This system serves as a community of learning where individuals are resources for one another and members are motivated by shared goals. Members of the community serve to assist, test, and direct each other while participating in sociocultural activity valued by the community (Rogoff, 1990, p. 39).

If Rogoff's lenses or planes of analysis—personal, interpersonal, and community—are situated in the sociocultural activity model, varying degrees of participation in activities become apparent. Rogoff describes the processes of the personal lens as participatory appropriation (1995, p. 142). Through participatory appropriation processes, individuals themselves change due to their involvement in activities. The changes may be in how an individual engages in future related activities and how the individual changes the nature of his or her own engagement in the current activity (e.g., taking on more or different responsibilities). For example, an inexperienced girl participating within a group of girls who are involved in learning musical handclaps might begin her experiences by observing more experienced players with the intention of participating to a greater extent. The more she observes, the more she learns about the musical techniques and social practices appropriate to the group. She continues to learn as she practices alone or with similarly skilled partners. While her skills and knowledge develop, she becomes involved more regularly, engaging in handclaps with more partners. As she continues to be involved, she also begins to be a model for other less experienced participants and contributes to the decision making of the group. Furthermore, because she becomes increasingly adept at practicing handclaps, her identity within the group is in constant flux, and the decisions she makes about her future activities are shaped by her current and past experiences.

What Rogoff is adamant about in participatory appropriation is that it is a dynamic, rather than static, approach. That is, an individual is not changing due to external information being imported over an invisible boundary into an internal cognitive storage facility that houses memories, thoughts, scripts, and so on. This model

necessarily involves some sort of homunculus that performs the executive processes of cognition, and requires time to be segmented into past, present, and future events. Rogoff, instead, advocates the process of participation itself as the transformation. In this manner, the external-internal boundary is no longer present because an individual participating in an activity is also part of the activity. This approach shifts the focus of learning to process, rather than product, and makes time relative to events—the present activity is a culmination of past activities, present intentions, and possible future endeavors (Rogoff, 1995, pp. 150-157).

Rogoff refers to the processes of the interpersonal plane as guided participation. These practices include communication among participants, coordination of efforts, and choices of materials, partners, and activities, all while participating in a larger culturally valued activity. Rogoff explains that the term, guidance, refers to an individual being guided not only by partners within an activity, but also by social and cultural norms and values. So then, the girl discussed previously would be viewed in terms of her interactions with other members with the interactions being the focus of analysis. In other words, how does she talk with other members of the group; what nonverbal gestures are used to communicate; what types of activities does she engage in; what sorts of materials does she use in her activities; and how are her choices influenced by other girls in the group and the larger societal or cultural contexts? Furthermore, how do her experiences compare with the experiences of the other members?

Participation, in this case and in other planes, refers to observation and varying degrees of applied engagement in an activity (Rogoff, 1995, p. 142). However, this is not a separate definition or classification of a particular activity, it is instead a different

perspective of the same activity. This lens offers the unique view of how endeavors are shared amongst members in organizing and participating in activities. Focusing on interactions in this manner allows researchers to look at scenarios arranged formally, as well as everyday interactions (Rogoff, 1995, pp. 146-150).

The last plane of analysis in Rogoff's sociocultural activity model can be described as apprenticeship. Apprenticeship encompasses the general goals and practices of organized activities. The focus is on the cultural and institutional structures and technologies (e.g., economic, political, religious, material) of a community of practice and how participants form an interactive system of involvement (Rogoff, 1995, pp. 142-143). The community of practice is influenced by historical traditions, cultural practices, and social norms. No longer is attention given solely to individuals, but now it is on the collective activity and overall goals for contribution (Rogoff, 1995, pp. 143-146). In the handclapping group, what are the collective values and goals of the community; how do they work together to maintain their values and accomplish their goals; and how are their values and goals influenced by history, tradition, society, culture, the media, and so on? By looking at activity though these three processes—participatory appropriation, guided participation, and apprenticeship—it is possible to highlight different aspects of involvement, while still maintaining a broad scope of analysis that includes both local dyads of formal instruction and large communities of informal learning.

It is also important to give attention to the semiotic relationships apparent in learning situations. While Vygotsky was taken with the role of language, other symbols, and tools utilized by participants, looking at how meanings are *co-created* by participants in particular learning exchanges seems more useful. This idea coincides with Rogoff's

(1990) "contextual event approach." This perspective argues that "all human activity is embedded in context; there are neither context-free situations, nor decontextualized skills," (Rogoff, 1990, p. 27). For example, remembering and being able to sing the lyrics to a song is not simply a matter of memory, storage, and reproduction; it involves the environment in which it was learned, the individuals engaged in the learning situation, the purpose or motivation for learning the song, socially acceptable contexts for reproduction, meanings derived from the music-making and from the content of the song itself, and so on. Furthermore, meaning and context cannot be viewed as separate entities; meanings are derived from the relations within a context. In this way, language and gestures facilitate and mediate cultural exchanges, and meanings are co-constructed by all participants involved in the exchanges.

Lave and Wenger's Theory of Situated Learning

As the notion of apprenticeship became obscured due to overuse in academia, Lave and Wenger (1991) attempted to distinguish particular details of apprenticeship, another variation stemming from Vygotskian thought. One distinction that they felt was important to make was that of historical forms and educational forms of apprenticeship. In other words, there exist cultural and historical forms of recognized apprenticeship, such as Haase's (1998) discussion of his becoming an *uchi deshi* (an apprentice who lives with his *sensei*) in an ancient pottery community in Japan. However, there are also more metaphorical forms of apprenticeship that are thus termed because of the nature of the learning situation, like Hersh and Peak's (1998) explication of the Suzuki Method of music instruction where apprentice teachers, called *kenkyūsei*, participate in the teacher development program.

Another concept Lave and Wenger investigated was that of "learning by doing," or situated learning. This inquiry culminated in their notion of legitimate peripheral participation in situated learning contexts, where learners contribute as legitimate participants in communities of practice moving from peripheral to focal activities as they become more competent as an apprentice in a specific arena of skills and knowledge (Lave and Wenger, 1991, pp. 29-31). Lave and Wenger further defined situated learning because it has been used to simply mean learning through activity or experience-based learning. They argued that situated learning was more abstract, encompassing negotiated meanings, purposes or motivations for engagement, and the relational nature of knowledge. In this sense, all activity is situated (Lave and Wenger, 1991, p. 33). Legitimate peripheral participation, then, was explained as engagement in social practice in which learning is essential. This is an attempt to replace the ideas of activity being a vehicle for learning, where cognitive processes are primary, as well as the converse belief that social practices are central, with learning being a byproduct of those activities. In this form of participation, actors can decide to not participate, partially participate, or fully participate, although Lave and Wenger are careful to point out that because communities are so different and complex, no single definition of full participation can be identified. Moreover, participants who are fully engaged in activities are also continuing to grow and learn (Lave and Wenger, 1991, pp. 34-37).

Finally, when thinking of communities of practice identity and power structures are areas that predictably need to be taken into account. Lave and Wenger discuss motivation and identity in terms of a participant's contribution to the community. A newcomer has little value as a participant early on, but gains value and status within the

community as he or she becomes competent in practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991, pp. 110-112). This causes problems in the areas of continuity and displacement of members of the group. While the goal is for novices to eventually become masters of a practice, the motivation of both individuals may change as the value of each person's participation equilibrates or outweighs one another causing the power structure to shift (Lave & Wenger, 1991, pp. 113-117). Depending upon the community, shifts in power could be a natural and expected order of events or an unforeseen and undesirable surprise.

What I believe is critical in Lave and Wenger's (1991) work is this notion of legitimate peripheral participation within a community of practice. Because one could easily argue that all learning occurs through some sort of activity, whether it is physically engaging in a dance or listening to a lecturer discuss the characteristics of a dance, there needs to be further explication of "learning by doing." These dance examples certainly show two ways in which a person might learn. However, the difference between this sort of learning and learning within a community of practice is that *participants in a community engage in activities while negotiating meanings, creating purposes and motivations, and co-constructing knowledge within, for, and about the community.* This idea is key to understanding the activities of the participants in this research project.

Learning Through Play

If learning among children is viewed in sociocultural terms, looking at contexts of play seems a prudent avenue for investigation. Usually thought of as a children's form of entertainment, play, like many other cultural processes, involves a multiplicity of social functions and roles as well. The idea that play is an expression of culture and way

of learning how to function in such a culture is not a new idea (Brady, 1975; Caillois, 1961; Eckhardt, 1975; Huizinga, 1955; Jones & Lomax Hawes, 1972; Roberts, Arth, & Bush, 1959; Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1962; Seagoe, 1962; Seagoe, 1970), and like accepting sociocultural perspectives on cognitive development, academia has recognized the significance of analyzing socially situated contexts of play in the past 70 years or so to illuminate learning processes. However, children's play entails intra- and intercultural variation due to adapting to its contexts of use, similar to other agents of cultural transmission, such as language.

As such, it is important to recall the sociohistoric setting for play among African-American children, for example, the participants in this study. To put it mildly, African Americans have a history of abuse, oppression, poverty, and prejudice. They also have a history of strength, morality, respect, and resilience in adapting to these injustices. In such a milieu, the African-American community and the dominant Anglo-American society both figure prominently in the socialization of African-American children. The experiences they have at home, in the neighborhood, at church, in school, at recreation programs, and on the playground may vary greatly, all acting as contexts for socialization. In particular, African-American children use these contexts for understanding how to "cope with the white world which surrounds them" (Brady, 1975, p. 4). Play relates to this study in that it affords naturalistic contexts for music to be demonstrated amongst children, if music is, in fact, learned outside of adult-guided instructional settings.

Communication and Expression

Brady (1975) argues that cooperation and group solidarity are integral to African-American culture, and communication in play among African-American girls, specifically, serves to strengthen such values. Encouraging communication in play serves the purposes of conveying oneself to others in a group, entertaining one another, and maintaining relationships among group members—all ways of strengthening group solidarity not only in play, but also in the "real" world.

Linguistic competence is measured in terms of an individual's ability to function and manipulate social contexts and to engage in verbal artistry. Abrahams (1974) refers to Black women's verbal interactional strategies when approaching different circumstances. "Talking sweet" is reserved for infants and peers, and "talking smart" or "cold" is for individuals who might be threatening to a woman's self-image (Brady, 1975, p. 23). The trick is for a woman to quickly assess and react appropriately to a situation. These strategies are also evident in girls' play contexts. Brady (1975) provides the example of "Lana," a girl especially competent in verbal interactional strategies, who was able to manipulate her peer group through directing them in their choice of game and the structure and rules for the game (pp. 23-24). This competence allows for an assertion of self to the group and maintains an individual's place within the group to a certain extent.

Verbal artistry is distinct from interactional strategies because it has an artistic or poetic function. Verbal artistry refers to what is commonly known as gibberish, except that this sort of nonsense speech functions to create phonological interest (Brady, 1975). Brady (1975) gives an example of girls singing a rhyme that includes the line,

"Akawasaboos, akawasasodawater, I love you," that has no referential function, but does operate as an experimentation of sound (p. 30). Learning rhymes, such as this, is entertaining, and saying them together unites members of a group. There are, of course, other forms of communication, such as storytelling, that operate in a similar artistic way, but gibberish is distinct in that the focus is on the phonemes and their relationship to one another in a larger, musical sense. Gibberish, or nonsense syllables or vocables, has an aesthetic quality that is appreciated because of the way in which the sounds are heard as a whole.

Improvising, or "doin' your thang," is a specific way in which individuals can express themselves in a game. However, it is important to note that improvising allows children to assert themselves within the group while interacting with other members, rather than making them independent of the group. In many girls' games, this might take the form of a child taking the center position in a ring game, where she is able to dance at will. Improvising involves playing with and against other members of a group, a practice closely connected to antiphonal call-and-response patterns characteristic of African and African-American music (Brady, 1975). This practice, like interactional strategies and verbal artistry, helps to build and maintain relationships among group members through communication and expression.

To sum, play amongst African-American children, specifically girls, has the characteristics of communicative interactional strategies, verbal artistry, and improvising that support entertainment, cooperation, group solidarity, negotiation of activities, and individual expression. This aspect of play becomes especially important when looking at the lyrical content of the study at hand.

Rules and Expectations

Another way of coordinating and strengthening the group through cooperation and mutual support is constraining play by rules (Brady, 1975). Rules, which are often tacit, provide the physical setting of play that unites the group and norms for interacting with one another. These rules might involve, for example, how to take turns, what formation the group is in, or which movements go with a game. Brady (1975) points out that in her study, a child who was unfamiliar with the culture and games of the African-American girls had a difficult time understanding her role in the play, as it was not similar to the competitive types of play to which she was accustomed. Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) discussed similar problems between adult groups of Anglo-Americans and African-Americans. In their project, the Georgia Sea Island Singers, led by Bessie Jones, taught traditional African-American games in a workshop. During this workshop, the attendees, who were mainly Anglo-Americans, had a difficult time conceptualizing play without focusing on competition, clear rules, and individual skill. The expectations of the Georgia Sea Islanders, on the other hand, were for players to cooperate, support each other, participate dramatically, and enjoy themselves. The manner in which the teaching group wanted the students to experience the play was also incongruent. While the Georgia Sea Islanders wanted them to learn while experiencing the game, the students wanted instructions prior to playing. The fact that the games had no real winners or losers was the final frustration for many students. It is significant that May Seagoe's (1970) study of Anglo-American, suburban, middle-class children indicates that "school is the prime agent in discouraging individual play and promoting competitive play that is conducive to fostering an individualistic and competitive style of interpersonal relations,"

exactly the opposite of the cooperative, expressive, and relationship-building play of African-American girls (Brady, 1975, p. 11).

It is important to remember, however, that the dichotomy set up by the research cited in this section in which African-American children's play is "cooperative" and Anglo-American children's play is "competitive," is just that. Dichotomies do not allow for the ebb and flow of change, nor the possibility of a third, fourth, or millionth degree of difference. Furthermore, the definitions of cooperative and competitive are vague. Does competition require that individuals are at odds with one another, or could a group cooperate due to their competition with other groups or competitive desire to improve the collective? While it is significant that research is noting differences amongst the play of African Americans and Anglo Americans, binary constructions such as this, should be taken with a healthy dose of reflection.

Role Models

The traditions and customs of African-American life, particularly the life of women, are passed to girls through role models (Brady, 1975), and play activities reflect this influence. Two important characteristics of the lives of African-American women are being economically independent and having close bonds between mother and children, both combining to create a strong family role for women. Girls look towards women in their community for guidance, particularly individuals in their immediate surroundings who have been most successful in these terms, such as mothers, older sisters, aunts, and teachers. This learning also concentrates on how to relate to members of the opposite sex, which may contribute to the early divergence in play activities between African-American children. Girls and boys are aware of the roles of men and

women in their community and view each other in these terms. As early as seven or eight years of age, girls experience the conflict of males being sexually inviting, yet untrustworthy at the same time (Brady, 1975).

Brady's (1975) transmission/acquisition model is somewhat outdated, but the idea is still relevant, especially as it relates to the currently media-saturated society in which African-American children live. One can imagine, in any culture, that adults serve to demonstrate what is possible and acceptable in children's future lives. These adults may be part of a child's immediate surroundings, such as a parent, an environment once removed, such as a teacher, or several times removed, such as a music entertainer on television. These people act as socializing agents; however, children are not passively molded into their future roles, but make conscious decisions about their identity. Furthermore, their choices inform the adults in their world as well, such as through the purchases of an entertainer's compact discs, or lack thereof.

Peer Groups

Similar to adult role models, within female peer groups, some girls take on the responsibility of socializing other, usually slightly younger, peers within contexts of play (Brady, 1975; Eckhardt, 1975). These girls, called "little mamas," often organize play and act as leaders within the group. Eckhardt (1975) recalls "Diana," a little mama, taking care of "Barbara" by fussing over her when she left the group crying due to a breakdown in play (p. 60). Little mamas will also provide technical assistance when playing games. For instance, when "Charlene," a little mama, senses that "Rena" is not as proficient at a handclap as she needs to be to participate, Charlene tries to assist Rena in her handclapping technique by modeling the clap for her with another girl (Brady,

1975, pp. 20-21). Finally, little mamas may take on the duty of teaching appropriate social rules and expectations, such as acceptable speech or responses in social situations. Brady (1975) gives the example of Rena being told by Charlene that it was inappropriate to call her a "black dog," as it was not "nice," and Rena would "get in trouble" (p. 20). Other members of girls' peer groups function in similar ways for each other, but a little mama will take a specific girl as her charge—Diana was Barbara's "mama," and Charlene was Rena's. This process of socialization and learning across ages begs the question, why are children age segregated in classrooms?

Summary

Play contexts offer a unique insight into how children learn. Amongst African-American children, particularly girls, several aspects are relevant. Communication and expression are valued in that they support the group's collective identity, the activities that the group engages in, and the development of self amongst individuals. Rules and expectations offer a foundation for understanding and negotiating play. Participants know what to expect of others, as well as what others expect of them. Furthermore, rules offer a structure from which to revise and create new rules. Finally, adult role models and peers serve as examples for children, in which children can emulate, revise, or create original identities. Peers and adults are sources of information, skills, norms, values, and so on that children glean through play interactions.

Musical Play Activities

When looking at research on African-American children's music, several genres recurrently appear: singing, handclapping, circle or ring plays/games, line plays/games,

jumping rope, jumps and skips, dances, and cheers (also known as routines or drills). Females are the main participants in these activities, although males do participate occasionally and certainly have knowledge of the practices. Most of the descriptions of the activities will probably be self-evident, but some general comments should be made.

First, the distinction between plays and games is not clear. Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) say that games are activities with "if-then" sorts of consequences included in the rules (e.g., if you do not jump far enough, you are "out"). Plays, on the other hand, are activities that are a kind of mini-drama. In other words, they include acting out scenes from everyday life (e.g., pretending to choose a mate). It is interesting to note that historically, Maroons of Suriname and French Guiana, descendents of rebel slaves from Africa who established communities in the rain forest, had gatherings focusing on song, dance, and drama that they called, "plays," (Price and Price, 1999, pp. 237-244). Price and Price (1999) also explain that the term, "play," is used widely by African-Americans to refer to the primary activity that allows people to assert and maintain their individuality (p. 323). The distinction between plays and games among African-American children, however, is not readily recognized or articulated by all researchers, so its importance to this study is unknown at this time.

Next, all activities include both body movement and vocalizing. Harwood (1992) and Riddell (1990) both stress that singing and moving are nearly inseparable in the musical activities they observed. Riddell (1990) explains that body motions in music serve the purpose of keeping the beat in many singing games, such as with jumping and handclapping, and movements serve to communicate and interact non-verbally.

Finally, the repertoire for all activities is one that is overlapping from activity-to-activity and, in some cases, can be traced back to the 19th century. In other words, the repertoire of tunes, songs, and chants seems to be recycled and renovated to fit the physical needs of the activity at hand, however, the song-activity combinations are not constantly changed, but are concrete and passed along, sometimes, for generations. For example, "Miss Mary Mack" is a very old song that is often connected with handclapping (Jones & Lomax Hawes, 1972; Eckhert, 1975; Merrill-Mirsky, 1988; Moore, 1998), but is also found in connection to jumping rope (Abrahams, 1963). The song-activity combinations that are known, however, are generally permanent "oral-kinetic etudes" (Gaunt, 1997).

Singing

Singing games are described by Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) as songs that have movements, in which vocalizing is primary (i.e., songs with motions, but not handclapping). Singing games are also practiced more often among younger children who are not yet engaged in handclapping games. Moore (1998) gives the example of "Head and Shoulders" where the lyrics to the song also indicate the movements:

> Head and shoulders, baby, 1, 2, 3.
> Head and shoulders, baby, 1, 2, 3.
> Head and shoulders, head and shoulders, baby, 1, 2, 3.
>
> Shoulders, waist, baby, 1, 2, 3.
> Shoulders, waist, baby, 1, 2, 3.
> Head and shoulders, shoulders, waist, baby, 1, 2, 3.
> Etc.

Songs used in different cultural contexts, such as "Head and Shoulders," usually contain the same content, although those originating from Europe, for example, have often been transformed slightly over time in their African-American contexts. The song above is

focused on an ascending to descending, flowing melody and is strophic, reminiscent of British children's songs, but the original version has been transformed slightly to include lyrics reflecting the social milieu of African-Americans at the time and musical elements more common to African-American children's songs, such as syncopation and offbeat handclapping patterns. The song goes on:

> I ain't been to Frisco, and I ain't been to school.
> I ain't been to college, but I ain't no fool.
>
> To the front, to the back, to the si-, si-, side.
> To the front, to the back, to the si-, si-, side.
> To the front, to the back, to the si-, si-, side, si-, si-, side, si-, si-, side.

This transformed version is fairly consistent in content across the literature, but its use is cited as both a singing game (Moore, 1998) and handclapping game (Abraham, 1966; Jones & Lomax-Hawes, 1972).

Handclapping

Handclapping is one of the most commonly researched activities, and this genre is also known as patting, caking, hand jive, and scolds. Gaunt (1995) contends that this activity probably evolved from the practice of pattin' juba. Pattin' juba was a musical practice of African Americans with the earliest reference being that of Henry Bibb in the 1820s (Epstein, 1977, pp. 141-142). The practice consisted of a person or persons patting, clapping, or slapping his or her own hands rhythmically on the body, while keeping metric time with his or her feet by tapping or stepping and singing or chanting for the purpose of providing accompaniment for dance. Handclapping has been investigated intensively by Harwood (1992, 1993, 1998) and researched as an activity among many by several others (Abrahams, 1966; Brady, 1975; Eckherdt, 1975; Jones & Lomax-Hawes, 1972; Merrill-Mersky, 1988; Riddell, 1990). Handclapping games

consist of a chant or song accompanied by a variety of handclap patterns, either done in dyads, small groups, or circles. A very common handclap is "Miss Mary Mack":

> Miss Mary Mack, Mack, Mack,
> All dressed in black, black, black,
> With silver buttons, buttons, buttons,
> All down her back, back, back.
>
> She asked her mother, mother, mother,
> For fifteen cents, cents, cents,
> To see the elephant, elephant, elephant,
> Jump over the fence, fence, fence.
>
> He jumped so high, high, high,
> 'Til he reached the sky, sky, sky,
> And he didn't come back, back, back,
> 'Til the Fourth of July, -ly, -ly.

As with the singing game, "Head and Shoulders," this song has been changed slightly since its origination. Again, it is thought to have originated in England and was a song dealing with death, as the first stanza implies in Miss Mary's funeral attire. However, the song changed with the additional stanzas, and the symbolism for Miss Mary's clothes has been explained as Miss Mary being a Black woman with "diamonds down her back" (Gaunt, 1997).

Circle or Ring Plays/Games and Line Plays/Games

Circle or ring games and line games are somewhat different than the activities mentioned above because they often include opportunities for individuals or couples to be the focus of attention during a game. These games, however, are not competitive, but allow for each member of the group to have a chance to "show us your motion" (Abrahams, 1966). For example, "Little Sally Walker" tells the participants to follow certain movements and to improvise in the last stanza:

Little Sally Walker,
Sittin' in a saucer,
Cryin' and a-weepin',
Over all she has done.

Rise, Sally, rise.
Wipe out your eyes.

Fly to the east, Sally.
Fly to the west, Sally.
Fly to the very one, you love the best.

Now put your hand on your hip,
And let your backbone slip.

Shake it to the east.
Shake it to the west.
Shake it to the very one, you love the best.

An individual or couple will be picked to go to the center of the circle or down the line first. Movements are often indicated by the lyrics to the song for the center person with an opportunity at the end of the song to improvise movements. The children in the circle or line often do simpler movements, such as walking around the ring, or may do movements similar to the center person until the time to improvise arises. When the person in the center is finished, the next person is chosen, and the song begins again. The play continues until every child has had a chance to participate as the center person. What is distinct about these games is that circle games seem to precede line games in terms of the age of children. Children may begin with very simplistic circle games, such as the well known, "Ring Around the Rosey," and move to very complex line games where couples move down the line in complicated dance patterns, such as in "Step, Miss Lizzie." This sequence may be related to the social awareness of the participants and how they are manifest in musical play. This issue is discussed in more detail in the results and interpretation of musical activities of the participants in this research.

Jumping Rope

Jump-rope games have been included in much of the literature as well and have been studied intensively by Abrahams (1963) and Gaunt (1995, 1997, 1998). Types of jump-rope games include single jumping, where one rope is used and turned by one "ender" with the other end tied to a fence or post or where two "enders" each turn an end. More complicated is double-Dutch, where the two enders turn two ropes in an alternating pattern overhand. Continuing in complexity is double-Irish, which is similar to double-Dutch but with the ropes being turned in an underhand fashion. Finally, some research has included Indian jumping, otherwise known as Chinese jump rope. This differs in that an elastic band or series of rubber bands tied together go around two enders' legs. The person or persons jumping stand in the middle and do a series of steps that wrap the band around the legs, sort of like the finger-and-string games, where the goal is to jump out of the wrappings without falling or pulling the band. If successful, often the band is raised higher on the enders' legs. Jumping rope, especially double-Dutch, is an activity that is unique in that it has been institutionalized with organizations, such as the Double-Dutch League of America and the International Double-Dutch Association. The jump-rope games children play on their own often include songs or chants used in other genres, such as "Miss Mary Mack" and "Head and Shoulders," but if officiated by structured organizations, the games may include specific rules of behavior, such as including a particular number of "tricks" (e.g., doing the splits during a jump), wearing certain attire, or excluding accompanying music to the jumping display (Gaunt, 1997, 1998). Essentially, organized gaming constructs strict formulae for play that is not necessarily a part of play in informal contexts.

Jumps, Skips, and Dances

Jumps and skips are detailed by Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) as precursors to dances. Jumps and skips are similar to singing games, except more large motor skills are involved; dances are just as the name suggests. Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) explain that dances are distinct in that they include prescribed movements and are often undertaken by couples in which participants coordinate their movements with one another, such as in "Zudie-O." Jumps and skips may only include repetitive muscle movements, like jumping on one leg, as in "Knock Jim Crow." They also mention that the sequence of development from jumps and skips to dances reflects the continual socialization process of children into adult activities. It is interesting that Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) cited jumps and skips and dances as separate genres of musical activity. However, several other researchers discussed cheers, routines, and drills, which seem obviously connected to jumps and skips. It could be that the difference in genres may be in terminology only, as jumps and skips were not noted at all by other researchers. In addition, prescribed dances were generally connected to older individuals (beginning with teenagers) and were not discussed as such by other researchers. These differences might be attributed to the time period in which Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) published.

Cheers, Routines, and Drills

Cheers and routines (also known as drill team or drills) are part of a genre that includes dancing, but in an individually synchronized way. Many researchers argue that drills are a stage of musicking that follows handclapping (Merrill-Mersky, 1988; Harwood, 1992, 1993, 1998; Gaunt, 1995, 1997, 1998). Interestingly cheerleading is not

connected with any sort of sports team and the name, drill team, is not meant to indicate a team in any formal sense of the word. Basically, these routines are a cross between dancing and cheerleading where girls synchronize their movements and may allow for a person to "do your thang" (Gaunt, 1997). In addition, songs are not always a part of the activity, but chants seem to provide the basis for the lyrics, and foot stomping is more prevalent in order to keep the pulse of the music going. Drills may be a precursor to African-American collegiate fraternity and sorority stepping or lining. This example illustrates that chants for routines are quite different than those for other games, in that they may not be as long or strophic and seem to include more rhythmic vocables:

> Oo-lay, oo-lay,
> Nay-oo-tay,
> Stay back that's me!

As indicated before, they are also chanted, rather than sung, which contributes to a sense of overlaying, articulated rhythms that are more pronounced.

Features of Music Learning

An Oral Tradition

Studies focusing on the musical practices of African-American children, specifically girls, reveal some common characteristics in the processes of learning. First, the music is "real" in the sense that making music is considered playing, a usual childhood activity that allows for children to entertain themselves and learn about society and culture in a larger sense. In addition, the content and skills are transmitted in the manner of oral tradition—watch, listen, and do, then show someone else. In other words,

the musical practices of African-American children are ones that the children create themselves and use on a daily basis.

The manner in which the music is learned is also holistic—a piece is learned as a whole unit without taking out sections to practice. As Harwood (1992) suggests, if errors occur, participants return to the beginning, suggesting that the piece is conceived of as a whole, rather than as parts. Thus, girls will observe other members at an activity, try the activity themselves, receive feedback from others in the group, and do it again. In this way, the music is practiced the same way in which it is performed—from beginning to end. Riddell (1990) points out that while it has long been the habit of music classes to teach simple-to-complex pieces of music through breaking down musical sequences, ethnomusicologists, such as Timothy Rice, Paul Michel, and John Blacking, note that outside of music classes there is not always a distinction made between simple and complex pieces, and the manner in which music is learned is holistic through repetition and trial-and-error. Riddell's (1990) subjects followed this idea by demonstrating learning through repetition, starting from the beginning when an error occurred, and playing a musical game at its usual tempo.

Because this music making is conducted in informal contexts, children play these games over and over again, spending a great deal of time on a single piece. The goal is to learn the common repertoire of all the children, and Harwood (1993) notes that a limited repertoire of games is practiced at a time in order to achieve this goal. As Merrill-Mirsky (1988) suggests, the generation or lifespan of a repertoire is about three years and is incrementally replaced by new, more complicated pieces. Thus, the mastery of any

particular piece takes a great deal of time, and sometimes learning one piece is necessary for acquiring the skills needed for another.

The results of this research illustrate these characteristics of an oral musical tradition in that music was learned through play by repeatedly listening, watching, and practicing in a holistic manner. Moreover, the activities were practiced in informal contexts by the children, rather than in adult-guided situations. These results will be discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

Gender Differences

As stated earlier, research shows that most musical play activities demonstrated by African-American children, in fact all that has been discussed thus far, is among females. This might be due to the overall distinct natures of play among boys and girls. Merrill-Mirsky (1988) offers some unique characteristics of gender-segregated play. Girls' play tends to involve: singing, rhyming, language play, movement, competition between individuals (although this is not always obvious), turn-taking and in-game waiting, defined rules and sequences, and private spaces. Harwood (1998) adds that girls engage in short improvisations of movement and vocalizations when waiting or transitioning to another activity. Merrill-Mirsky (1988) describes boys' activities as including: body contact and displays of strength, larger groups (often for play between teams or groups with real or pretend conflict), continuous and lengthy activity, defined outcomes with winners and losers, aggressive negotiations, and large, public spaces. However, as stated earlier in regards to competitive versus cooperative play, these sorts of dichotomies set up in literature should be scrutinized. Characterizing processes in such ways does not allow for variations in practice and can lead to stereotyping.

In addition to these descriptions, Goodwin (1993) has done extensive research about the uses of talk among African-American boys and girls in negotiating play. In Goodwin's study (1993), girls who were engaged in play activities used both cooperative and competitive talk, while boys commonly used direct commands, insults, and threats during play. These types of speech, though, seemed to be context-specific. When girls were engaged in task activities, a more egalitarian relationship among members was present in speech directives. However, when girls were engaged in pretend play, asymmetrical relationships emerged in both the directives and actions of participants, due to the necessity of managing the activity and showing the relationships between dominant and submissive characters. Boys' directives usually illustrated the dominant and submissive roles of participants in the group. These directives were not always clear in logic and were more often dependent on the leader's fancy (i.e., "do this because I'm the leader"). The leaders were often in control of the resources and spaces for activity, giving them the power to direct the play. To sum, girls did not always have egalitarian forms of play, but also included hierarchical organization similar to those of boys; the social organization depended upon the context.

Gaunt (1995) discusses the speech of African-American females from a feminist perspective that regards their musical activities as socially acceptable ways to verbally express themselves. She explains that although it has long been considered that African-American women were not and are not allowed opportunities to overtly express anger, aggression, vulgarity, or sexuality, history suggests that they have, in fact, commonly participated in areas of expression commonly attributed to males. Juber, juba, or pattin' juba, a practice discussed earlier, was an androgynous activity documented as being

performed by women as early as 1859 (Gaunt, 1995, p. 280). In contemporary times, expressions of obscenity, vulgarity, and sexuality are found in the lyrics of various African-American female music activities, such as handclapping and jump-rope games, cheerleading, and sorority step shows, similar to what is often found in rap, another arena in which women readily participate. Females create and disseminate the musical practices, demonstrating their competency and ownership, while finding a socially acceptable venue for self-expression at the same time. So, while African-American males and females have historically had different avenues for verbal expression in which it was more socially acceptable for males to communicate visibly, the lines of social acceptability and gendered participation are becoming blurred as time goes on.

A concentration on African-American girls' musical play in the literature, rather than boys' musical play, might be due to a number of contributing factors. First, most of the researchers undertaking such studies are women, who may have a propensity towards studying females. Second, perhaps what is considered socially acceptable play among African-American children is gender-segregated, as it is among most socio-cultural groups. These are, of course, merely guesses regarding the apparent neglect of research on the musical activities of African-American boys. The fact remains, unfortunately, that there is insufficient literature to draw a certain conclusion concerning this topic.

Locations of Learning

Most researchers (Harwood, 1992; Gaunt, 1995; Merrill-Mirsky, 1988; Riddell, 1990) are in agreement that girls are learning these musical activities in informal settings, such as on the playground or at home. In this way, children are not restricted in the amount of time spent on an activity or with whom they play. Riddell's (1990) subjects

explained that they learned games from their peers and older children in areas such as the playground. When asked about their music teacher, the children said that she taught them very different musical skills, such as reading music, and did not know the musical games children played because she never witnessed them, as she was never on the playground. Gaunt (1995) and Merrill-Mirsky (1988) draw attention to the fact that there are gender differences in using private and public spheres. According to Merrill-Mirsky (1988), females preserve their games by working in the private sphere where influence from outsiders is minimal. She also points out that boys' games often take place in public. Gaunt (1995) continues this line of thinking, adding that although boys do not engage in girls' games publicly, they will participate privately, as in a brother playing at home with a sister. The private-public division, however, does not seem clear. While a playground is a public space in that all school children use the area, children could sequester themselves in a private part of the playground disallowing the participation of outsiders. Alternatively, children could use the playground to incorporate many participants into an activity or display skills that they possess. It seems a location itself is not public or private, but that the *use* of the space is.

Participants

Possibly most important in the learning process is the group within which music takes place. This group is made up of girls of differing ages and abilities that allows for continuity in repertoire and skills. As Riddell (1990) outlines, the group constitutes the performers *and* audience members, both of whom know the repertoire and maintain the correctness of the performances through monitoring and criticism. Harwood (1998) adds that distinctions are blurry between performers, critics, and audience members. Members

of the group can choose their level of participation—observation only, partial participation, or full participation (Harwood, 1993). Further, they are motivated to learn from their desire to be included in the group and enjoy the activity, but as audience members, they could still offer advice and criticism and be a part of the activity.

As Riddell (1990) points out, children may not be precise on how they learn games. This may be because there is no formal instruction (Harwood, 1992), and the way in which learning is organized is not explicit to members. Upon reflection, however, a somewhat Vygotskian model seems apparent. In Harwood's (1992) work, children often begin their musical training by watching more proficient players in the group who serve as models and holders of the higher level of repertoire. Then, they may begin practicing, by going with a single-skill peer to play alone. It is important to note that, as Vygotsky explains in scaffolding, one peer must be slightly more skilled than the other, so that play does not break down. In these activities, this also holds true in that the peer chosen to play with does have to be slightly more skilled than the novice. After the children have mastered a particular piece well enough to play with the group, they will join the larger group's play, however, the group that they join does have to include similarly skilled peers. At this point, the highest experts in the group will serve to monitor and give feedback to the novices, sometimes even ejecting them from play to practice alone again. The feedback is accompanied by the criticism and opinions of any members not participating and serving as an audience. This pattern continues as the novices become more proficient and, ultimately, become the experts themselves.

Merrill-Mirsky (1988) stresses that the leader is very important because she is musically competent, has a large repertoire, and will demonstrate her advanced

knowledge and skill. Harwood (1993) continues, saying experts and novices were apparent in the learning processes of musical games, but were not necessarily distinguished as older and younger children. Experts would model music for novices, but it was up to the novice to watch, listen, and learn on their own. The experts were those girls who had a large repertoire of games and styles of handclapping. Harwood (1998) explains that girls recognized as leaders were able to demonstrate, monitor, criticize, and provide innovations to the group. As such, the authorities would be sent for until agreement was reached regarding the proper way of performing a piece.

Again, similar to the section discussing the characteristics of learning music as an oral tradition, the results of this study support the literature discussing participants and group structure. The participants were engaged in a musical activity to varying degrees with the collective motivation of having fun while improving the musicality of the activity at hand. The structure and purpose of the group seems highly illustrative of Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice discussed earlier in Chapter Two. This issue is discussed further in Chapters Five and Six.

Values

In the organization of these music activities, there exists a contradiction between the value of the individual (i.e., competition) and the value of the group (i.e., cooperation). Riddell (1990) says singing games are a democratic activity that many children participate in and are not reserved for those who demonstrate unusual musical talent. These games are social and reflect social values, such as friendship. Harwood (1993) emphasizes that the group, however, values individuals who can create a "good" performance: being able to clap fast; having a wide repertoire; knowing new games,

instead of old ones; knowing games from outside the area, as opposed to ones learned locally; speaking text rhythmically; and not deviating from the set form of a piece. With both of these comments in mind, perhaps this sort of music making is inclusive in that no child is actively marginalized, but a hierarchy based on skills and knowledge exists within the group of participants. In this way, competition can be cooperative in that increasing an individual's skills creates a better group experience by adding to the collective. Furthermore, the group can cooperate, or work together, in order to compete against, or improve, itself.

Developmental Sequence

Evidence regarding developmental sequences of learning music among African-American girls is not agreed upon. Merrill-Mirsky (1988) suggests that developmental stages are apparent in a girl's musical life in terms of the genres of music practices and the skill in which the music is performed. In Merrill-Mirsky's (1988) study, first-graders demonstrated simple songs and improvised songs, poems, and handclapping games that were very slow; second-graders showed handclapping and ring games that were more skillfully performed, but still included various songs; third-graders were proficient enough to have a common repertoire of games; and fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-graders played musical games less often, being more interested in drills or cheers. In this study, then, the overall musical tradition has a lifespan of approximately five to eight years before the next phase of musical development begins.

In contrast, Harwood (1992) suggests that it is important to note that musical development consists primarily of growing musically, not physically, although there does seem to be a correlation between age and expertise and how socialization factors impact

musical choices. This focus, then, is on the musical skills required to accomplish a task. For example, there seems to be a sequence in the types of handclapping games depending upon the level of difficulty of the handclap patterns employed (Jones & Lomax Hawes, 1972; Merrill-Mersky, 1988; Harwood, 1992, 1993, 1998). The handclaps may begin with the very simple "Patty Cake" game, move to simple horizontal clapping patterns in dyads, increase in variety that includes vertical patterns and circles, and peak with clapping vertically and horizontally in foursomes both across and to the side. The ability to chant or sing while doing the clapping also seems to follow the movements in the learning sequence.

Echkardt (1975) maintains a position similar to Harwood (1992), although her focus is on that of kinetics and proxemics. Competence is based on a child's ability to put together kinetic and proxemic units (Eckhardt, 1975, p. 61). In Eckhardt's (1975) study, girls (ages five to eight years) engaged in a daily sequence of games from: dyadic handclaps, where one vis-à-vis relationship is possible; to ring claps, where relationships are bilateral; to ring plays, where relationships are both bilateral and face-to-face with the center girl; to line plays, in which relationships are vis-à-vis with girls across from one another, bilateral with girls on each side, and face-to-face with the girl moving down her aisle of peers (pp. 65-69). Eckhardt (1975) argues that not only is this the sequence in which girls acquired overall competence in play activities—moving from kinetic and proxemic simplicity to complexity, but it was also the manner in which the girls sequenced their daily activities (p. 61).

Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) note that some genres of musical activity are precursors to others. Circle games lead to line games, which are more complex in rules

and organization, and jumps and skips are precursors to dances, as children begin to acquire the tacit social rules of adults. Many researchers (Merrill-Mersky, 1988; Harwood, 1992, 1993, 1998; Gaunt, 1995, 1997, 1998) also noted that cheers or drills were reserved for the "older" girls, generally over the age of ten years. In this line of thinking, particular genres were developmentally sequenced.

Upon reflection, it would seem that the basic development of motor skills and the social behaviors of peers would correlate strongly with age. For example, children may not possess the hand-eye coordination or vocal technique needed to handclap in a group of four. Furthermore, a child might not be socially conscious enough to understand the intent of the lyrics related to drill. However, it is easy to see how the lines between age groups could be blurred due to access to resources, time on task, and individual skills. If a child has an older sibling who includes her in musical activities, if a child regularly attends an after-school program that provides plenty of free time and peers, or if a child shows exceptional skill in music making, the developmental sequences discussed above could be erroneous.

Studies of Apprenticeship in Music

Music Apprenticeships in the Vygotskian Sense

Aside from the studies previously discussed, which focus primarily on the musical activities of African-American children, it is also important to review related studies that show aspects of educational apprenticeships. The majority of these studies were undertaken with a Vygotskian approach in mind, but one can readily make use of the particulars from Rogoff's and Lave and Wenger's models.

To begin, Joyce Eastlund Gromko, although probably more influenced by the work of Piaget, has researched various areas of children's musical learning that supports some aspects of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory. Eastlund Gromko's (1993) study on novice and expert listeners' perceptions of music indicates that novices attend to *secondary*, specific parameters of music, such as music being louder or softer or how pleasing it is to the listener, while experts attend to *primary*, global parameters, such as the music's melody or harmony. Her principal conclusion was that novice listeners do not have understandings of the rules and conventions of Western music, which create the primary structures, because they lack the musical training that experts have. It should be noted, however, that Eastlund Gromko discusses music from a uniform, aesthetic viewpoint supporting the notion that "music relies upon the knowledge of *the* vocabulary of music" [italics added] (1993, p. 46). In other words, novice listeners in this study did not grasp the written symbols[4] or conventions attached to music due to their lack of experience with it. This argument is further supported by Eastlund Gromko's (1994) study that focuses on children's invented musical notation abilities. This research shows that children who are better able to perceive and produce pitches and rhythms are also better able to invent musical notation that express pitch and rhythm. In addition, children whose invented notations showed an awareness of pitch and rhythm actually did have better musical understandings in terms of pitch and rhythm, as represented in Primary Measures of Musical Audiation (Gordon, 1979) test scores. These results support the notion that children who have experience with the rules or symbols of a particular music

[4] My use of the term, symbol, is general—as it is used in everyday language. However, it should be pointed out that semiotic discourse uses the term in a variety of ways with very specific meanings.

understand the meanings of these signs; they are able to separate the representation from the action or object.

Mayumi Adachi has also undertaken work relevant to this discussion. Adachi's (1994) study on children's learning and learning contexts concludes that the ability to function musically in a culture can only be achieved by learning through social agents. In particular, Adachi explains that parents or other adults have particular roles that "facilitate the musical socializations of the child" (1994, p. 28). The first such role is the adult as a transmitter of musical signs[5]. This role is where the adult, in a child-adult learning interaction, teaches the child musical signs, for instance singing pitches or intervals. This interaction proceeds from an interpsychological to an intrapsychological level, where the adult may first demonstrate a sign, then offer assistance to the child during transmission, followed by the child having an internalized grasp of the sign. The next role the adult plays is as a practice partner. This role is important because as Adachi states, although an adult is transmitting signs, a child may not necessarily internalize them. Children need to learn through social interaction, as the social process is not a separate entity from the cultural signs associated with it (Adachi, 1994, p. 29). Thus, adults need to participate in musical activities with children, whether the role is as a facilitator or as a supporter. Finally, adults need to act as co-players in adult-child duets where the roles within the duets are not fixed, but change and are decided upon between the two players. So, a duet may be in the form of a call-and-response song led by the adult or it may be a tune led by the child and supported by the adult. The co-constructed

[5] Turino (1999) defines sign as "something that stands for something else to someone in some way," (p. 222). This is how I intend to use the term. For more detail on Turino's model of Peircian semiotics, see "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Piercian Semiotic Theory for Music," *Ethnomusicology*, 43 (2): 221-255.

intersubjectivity described is essential to the child's engagement in the musical process, and "[T]his negotiation is the critical social process that will lead the child's spontaneous thought to a higher level of cultural thinking," (Adachi, 1994, pp. 33-34).

Richard Kennell has investigated children's musical learning and motivation to learn from a Vygotskian perspective as well. Kennell's (1992) study on student motivation in the context of the musical studio focuses on the joint problem solving of teacher and student. He explains that a musical assignment undertaken by the teacher and student proceeds as a series of problems to solve by the student with the help of the teacher. The key to successfully solving these problems, or to effective scaffolding, is through the teacher's ability to successfully perceive the student's progress, thereby sustaining the student's motivation. It is a balance between having a musical assignment that just exceeds a student's current abilities and one that far exceeds them. When an assignment is within the student's zone of proximal development, the next task is for the teacher to establish intersubjectivity in terms of the student adopting similar goals to the teacher for the assignment. Finally, the teacher must be sensitive to the quality and quantity of assistance during the course of the instruction. If a balance is achieved, the student's motivation to succeed will continue.

Kennell's (1997) research on scaffolding strategies also centers on the private music instruction of a teacher-student dyad. Kennell used Wood, Bruner, and Ross's (1976) suggestions for effective scaffolding, also called interventions or scaffolding strategies. The first, marking critical features, involves the expert pointing out specifics during the instruction (e.g., "this is softer"). The next strategy, demonstration, occurs when the expert models appropriate behavior (e.g., singing an interval correctly).

Reduction of freedom is when an expert reduces variables that make a task more difficult (e.g., playing a difficult rhythm passage more slowly than is written). The recruitment strategy is one that attempts to engage a novice in the task, such as the expert asking the novice to begin at a particular place in a piece of music. Setting goals is characteristic of direction maintenance and often involves assignments related to the task at hand, for instance asking the novice to listen to a particular recording of the piece currently being worked on. The strategy of frustration control is one that is used to help alleviate stress during the lesson (e.g., if a novice is struggling for a long period of time with a phrase, the expert may eventually skip that phrase). Kennell found that the music instructor in this case study employed these scaffolding strategies, and this instructor was deemed very successful by his peers and through the demonstrated success of his students. Thus, Kennell suggests that these strategies be used in teaching music. In addition, Kennell found that the particular teacher in this study engaged in strategies labeled off-task or unknown that often functioned to familiarize the teacher with the student's background, ideas, or feelings, or helped the teacher to solve problems. In solving problems aloud, "the teacher allows the observant student to acquire the rules that an expert uses to solve musical problems" (Kennell, 1997, p. 79). Consequently, the teacher attempts to shift the understanding from being interpsychological (between teacher and student) to being intrapsychological (within the student).

The previous studies illustrate several aspects of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory. Eastlund Gromko's (1993 & 1994) research suggests that musical understandings are highly correlated with knowledge of musical signs. This speaks to the aspect of mental representations and signs in Vygotsky's theory. Adachi (1994) advocates adults

have several roles to play in children's musical learning: as a transmitter of musical signs, as a practice partner, and as a co-player in musical duets. These roles relate to Vygotsky's notions of signs, scaffolding, and the overall social process of learning. Kennell's (1992) study explains that the key to keeping a student motivated to learn is through monitoring the student's progress and tailoring the learning context to the child's zone of proximal development. Finally, Kennell's (1997) research explained specific scaffolding strategies useful for promoting effective student-teacher interactions: marking critical features, demonstration, reduction of freedom, recruitment, direction maintenance, and frustration control. In addition, he noted that other interventions employed by teachers, such as talking about how to solve a problem, are essential to enable students to better understand and adopt these strategies themselves, illustrating the inter- to intrapsychological shift of understanding.

Music Apprenticeships in Communities of Practice

What is missing in the previous studies is a focus on activities and communities of practice. The prior research seems to implicitly rest on a transmission-acquisition model of learning in which primarily dyads of partners act as novice and expert. The following studies take a more modern approach to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of development that includes aspects of Rogoff's and Lave and Wenger's models of learning.

The first study looked at vocal productions of Shona-speaking children from birth to seven years of age in Zimbabwe (Kreutzer, 2001). Kreutzer's focus was on the developmental sequencing of singing skills and whether the children of the Nharira Communal Lands of Zimbabwe exhibited the same or a similar sequence of development

to children of Western studies. While the organization of the results of this research points to an acquisition model of learning, the community of practice that the children participated in suggests an activity model. Kreutzer's research supported past studies that propose a common developmental sequence among humans for singing during the same years language is developing. Among the Nharira children, major points of development included: using tune segments and musical conventions (three years); singing independently with expanded ranges (four years); singing with improved pitch accuracy (five years); and singing with tonal consistency (five-and-a-half years). Whereas these milestones are not maturationally uncommon, the level of precision in production was significantly higher among Nharira children than American children, in that the Nharira children sang more correct contours, intervals, and phrase endings.

Kreutzer described the results by looking at the environment that the children consistently participate in. Children of Nharira have opportunities to practice music as soon as they are born because the expectation is that all people of Nharira will sing and dance. Therefore, children have peers and adults to practice with, although the level of participation may vary according to the immediate context. Kreutzer further explains that children learn through informal processes, such as observation and imitation, rather than any sort of systematic training. So although the Nharira children do not develop outside of the developmental sequence noted by other studies, they may be reaching a higher skill level because of the community of practice that they participate in on a daily basis (Kreutzer, 2001, pp. 198-211).

Another case for an activity model of learning is Addo's (1997) study of children (ages seven to fifteen years) in the Central Region of Ghana. In looking for culturally

relevant ways to teach Ghanaian children's singing games, Addo studied situations in which children learned singing games amongst each other, children taught the researcher singing games in a more overt way, and a recognized adult teacher taught the children conflict-resolution skills in a classroom setting. Of primary interest is the situation in which the children learned singing games with their peers. Initially, the researcher would ask if someone knew of a particular game in order to decide on the popularity of certain games across school sites. Usually, at least one child was aware of a game and understood how to play, while others had only vague notions, if any, of how the game should proceed. If a child did know a game, a common context of learning occurred that suggests legitimate peripheral participation and a transformation of participation.

When beginning a game, the children would surround whoever was the most knowledgeable or skilled person of the group, anxious to share in these understandings. Sharing was a common practice, and there were not observable reservations about doing so. At this point, the children followed a somewhat ritualized pattern for learning where they would hold hands to form a circle, allowing themselves to focus their attention and organize the setting for learning. The leader of the group would then start the game and repeat the beginning over and over in order for everyone to become involved. The next step was to actually sing and clap the game as it usually occurred. Participants were expected to learn from listening, observing, and imitating the leader. The expectation was that children would learn as the game progressed. As the game continued, children would become more adept at their own pace, and the leader gradually lost significance. More skilled participants would verbally encourage less skilled players, as well as correct mistakes that they noticed. Eventually, the group would come to a collective

understanding of the procedures of the game and perform it smoothly. This example can be understood through Rogoff's (1997) planes of analysis where activity is personal, interpersonal, and community-wide. Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of legitimate peripheral participation also applies as participants are all involved in this example, but contribute or participate in varying degrees.

Summary

The empirical research covered in this review included the main topics of learning through play, musical play activities, features of music learning, and studies of apprenticeship in music. In the section describing learning through play, it is important to realize that play is a commonly recognized context for learning and development among children. Not only does it allow for avenues of communication, expression, and participation, but it also provides rules and expectations for organizing learning. Within these communities of practice, children learn that which is culturally valued and expected.

In the more specific contexts of musical play activities, African-American children engage in the following genres of culturally valuable musical activities: singing; handclapping; ring games; line games; jumping rope; jumps, skips, and dances; and cheers, routines, and drills. Although general social values are exhibited in musical activities, the specific cultural values of music are more prominent in music games, than in, for example, dramatic pretend plays, as one would assume.

Several features of music learning are apparent from the empirical research. An important quality of these contexts is their foundation on oral tradition. Ideas and skills

are learned through participation in everyday activities with social partners. However, the expectations and participation are different for boys and girls, most probably because the roles of adults in African-American society differ. As in other informal contexts of learning, participation in activities occurs with individuals who are available and desirable to participate with and occurs in locations that are also available without undue forethought. These communities of practice hold particular skills as valuable, such as fast handclapping, and research seems to indicate that individuals who participate in these practices do follow a loose sequence in developing these skills.

The remaining studies in the empirical review were included as an attempt to bridge the theoretical literature of sociocultural theories of learning with those empirical studies discussing features of play or music activities that do not focus specifically on larger models of development. It is important to consider that although some of the research covered in this review is specific to African-American culture, some is primarily based on contexts of learning regardless of participants, and some only discusses musical activities. However, the studies are not mutually exclusive. As Lave and Wenger explain, "there is no activity that is not situated" (1991, p. 33), and if one is engaged in social practice, one is learning by participating. Thus, global considerations of communities of practice can weigh in with particular characteristics of learning contexts.

Referring back to Chapter One, the primary research question for this study is: what are the processes of learning music that African-American children exhibit when working with one another outside of an adult-guided, instructional context? More specifically, what genres of music or types of musical activities are apparent amongst the African-American children in this study; are these musical activities similar or different

between the two study groups; what are the musical and social natures of the music learning processes demonstrated by the children in this study; and are the learning processes similar or different between the two groups? Thus, the literature topics of learning through play, musical play activities, features of music learning, and studies of apprenticeship in music are especially relevant for informing the project.

In the next chapter, the details of the methodology of this study will be covered. The contents of Chapter Three comprise a discussion of the research perspective, specific data collection methods, ethical concerns, limitations of the study, trustworthiness of the data, and data analyses.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

General Perspective

The intent of this study is to illuminate the music learning processes of two groups of children. To do so, it seemed critical to investigate how these processes occurred in natural settings. While any qualitative study does not allow for completely natural events to occur, as the researcher immediately taints the interactions to some degree, one can gain general insight into the workings of a community. The goal, then, was not to answer specific questions regarding music learning, but to understand the knowledge and skills of the children as they were demonstrated through their activity and interactions with one another. In this line of thinking, knowledge and skills are not static, but are contextually understood as temporal and spatial processes. In other words, the musical skills and knowledge are framed by when, where, and between whom the music in being created. The choice of qualitative, rather than quantitative, methods of research and analysis more appropriately addresses these issues.

Research Methods

The two communities of study for this project were African-American children (ages five to twelve years) enrolled in a neighborhood center's summer program in Tucson, Arizona (the Ocotillo group) and African-American children (ages five to nine years) enrolled in a Tucson elementary school (the Saguaro group). While the original goal of this study was to observe groups comparable in age, the first group of participants

was quickly narrowed to a focus group of girls, ages nine to twelve years, making the age difference an issue for consideration.

The qualitative research methods employed when working with the participants were participant observations, formal and informal interviews, and document and artifact collection. Field notes, audiotape recordings, videotape recordings, photographs, school enrollment forms, and participant-requested materials were garnered from these methods.

In order to work at these sites, I sent initial letters of request to the community center's program director and the school's principal and had follow-up discussions with them regarding my intent. After gaining access to the communities, any children remotely affected by the study were given informational passive consent forms to take home. When particular members of these sites became part of the focus groups, additional passive and active consent forms including information on audiotaping and videotaping were distributed. Finally, to ensure the participants' understanding of the project, I had discussions with them asking for their personal verbal agreement to participate in such a way that they could comprehend.

Observations

The primary method of data collection was observation. Observation is a fruitful research method in that it allows the researcher to view naturally occurring events within a commonplace setting. At the beginning of observing both groups of children, I took field notes only, in order to make the participants feel more at ease and to be less obtrusive. While a benefit to using field notes to record activity is its subtle nature—the researcher can be less conspicuous than with, say a video camera—a drawback is certainly the limitations of the individual doing the recording. There always exists a time

lag in an event occurring and being recorded, therefore the events occurring during recording are somewhat neglected. Furthermore, although attempts are made to be objective when writing field notes, subjectivity and interpretation during the writing process is inevitable.

After being at each site for a short time, approximately two weeks, videotaping then became an essential tool for recording activity. Using a Canon ES4000 and tripod, both for its lightweight nature and visual and audio features, I videotaped several sessions of activity in the neighborhood center and school settings. Photographs also supplemented the videotapes, although minimally. Video cameras are extremely beneficial for recording activity in great detail that can be revisited and for diluting the amount of researcher subjectivity in data collection. Using this device, however, also includes shortcomings, such as its presence influencing the nature of the activities being recorded and other issues of subjectivity, like the choices of activity to be recorded, spatial placement of the camera, and other researcher-defined decisions.

Interviews

I generally initiated the interviews in this study, and the interviews were informal and formal in nature. In other words, some interviews took place with a prescribed setting and list of questions to be answered, and others happened at the spur of the moment with no predefined questions in the context of other activity. Information gleaned from interviews took the form of written notes, videotapes, and audiotapes—generated with a Sony MZ-N707 mini-disc recorder and an Optimus omnidirectional boundary microphone.

Interviews are very useful as a way to ask for specific information from participants that otherwise may not arise in the contexts of naturally occurring events. In a formal interview, the researcher can reflect on what additional answers or supplemental details are needed. In an informal interview, immediate clarifications or reflections during activity can be gathered. The problem with interviews is that they set up certain expectations between the interviewer and interviewee (Berk, 2000, p. 48). The interviewer assumes that the interviewee will provide answers to questions; the interviewee understands that his or her role is to provide such answers. An air of formality and permanence surrounds this arrangement because the interviewee knows that the interviewer is recording answers in some way and the interviewer feels that answers will be revealed to a certain extent. This aspect was further confounded by the fact that I was an adult interviewing children, the participants at the Saguaro site were my students in music class, and the children were African-American, while I am Euro-American.

Document and Artifact Collections

Finally, documents and artifacts were collected to supplement knowledge gained through observations and interviews. Documents included school enrollment forms completed by parents, state school report cards, and census information. Artifacts primarily included musical compact discs requested by participants. These materials provided additional information for understanding the larger settings within which the study took place and for giving insight into personal preferences of and details about members. However, collecting these materials was constrained by access to records and funding of the project.

Ethical Concerns

While the nature of this research was not overtly harmful to the subjects, anonymity of subjects' names and sites of study and confidentiality of records were maintained. Information gleaned from the research was shared with all participants in written and video form so that the subjects could understand the role in which they played.

As stated earlier, with the children in the study, I took care to explain to them in terms that they understood what the purpose and importance of the project was. Before participating, all children received a passive written consent form to take home and had the opportunity to give verbal agreement or disagreement. The support and involvement of the neighborhood center's director and staff and the school's principal and teachers assisted in making the children at ease with the research. During observations, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible or "neutrally" participate as the situation demanded. Interviewing was conducted in an informal way with children in small groups in order to avoid making the children feel uncomfortable or pressured.

Limitations of the Study

Although I believe that the results of this study will make a positive contribution to the body of research on African-American children's music, multicultural music education, and cultural sensitivity in learning theory, the size and nature of the project will not support generalization. First, both groups of children are small samples in two distinct areas of a city—urban and rural—which has a relatively small population of African Americans (around four percent in the 1990 census). The fact that the population

is small and another ethnic minority group, Mexican Americans, makes up a large segment of the population (about 17 percent in the 1990 census) also lends to a unique cultural milieu in the city that may be distinct from other areas in the United States where African Americans live.

Another constraint in this study was simply my presence and recognized roles at each of the two research sites. At the summer program, children were initially wary of someone who was not a youth leader watching and taking notes about them. Over time, I was accepted as a sort of youth leader, although I did not perform the associated tasks. This acceptance posed the problem of the children being curious about my purpose and trying to read my field notes or "perform" to get my attention. At the school site, I was actually a music teacher for all the children participating in our study group. Consequently, although the children in the focus group relaxed after the first few meetings and forgot that I was observing, the fact remained that we had a teacher-student relationship with the related expectations of that relationship.

Lastly, an age difference between the two groups of participants existed. As mentioned previously, the Ocotillo Neighborhood Center participants included children between the ages of five and twelve years, however, a smaller group of participants, between the ages of nine and twelve years, soon became the core subjects for observation. The Saguaro School children varied in age from five to nine years. This distinction had the benefit of offering a cross-sectional component to the design, while negatively impacting the comparison of same-age participants.

Trustworthiness

Although the limitations of this study are noteworthy, there are ways in which trustworthiness of the data analysis can be supported. The primary techniques used for this project are those of data triangulation and method triangulation. As Krathwohl (1998) defines, triangulation uses more than one resource to corroborate information. In data triangulation, this might take the form of comparing verbal and nonverbal behaviors, individual and group behaviors, behaviors and responses of different groups of individuals, or answers to questions with similar concepts but different wording. In addition, Case (1995) contends that methodological triangulation is a sound technique for strengthening the interpretation of data. Method triangulation in this study consisted of contrasting participant observation, informal interviews, and document and artifact collections. Using a variety of triangulation situations helped to minimize threats to validity and reinforce findings.

Data Analyses

Jordan and Henderson's (1995) method of interaction analysis provided the foundation for all specific data analysis protocols. The predominant assumptions of this model come from communities-of-practice theory (see Lave and Wenger, 1991) in which cultural knowledge and skill are exhibited through actions and interactions of members. In other words, the understandings of participants can only be demonstrated through their manipulation of material objects and spaces and verbal and nonverbal communication with other members of the group.

Additionally, interaction analysis is based upon "verifiable observation" as the core data-collection method (Jordan and Henderson, 1995). Verifiable observation is essentially an attempt to bridge the qualitative nature of observation with the empirical evidence of videotapes. While traditional ethnographies stem from unobtrusive, and perhaps more natural, participant observations, if field notes are primarily used, they lack the ability to show originally occurring actions of the participants. If videotaping is involved, natural behaviors may be impacted, but the initially observed sequences remain and can be reviewed again.

This analytical approach does not differ radically from other ethnographic methods of analysis, except for its emphasis on videotape. While I did not follow "interaction analysis" exactly, due to the unavailability of collaborative work groups to analyze videotapes, I did follow the main steps of analysis including: creating content logs of the entirety of videotape, transcribing tape segments where appropriate, and allowing for categories of analysis to emerge from the data, rather than using preconceived coding categories.

Fieldnote and Audiotape Analyses

While Jordan and Henderson's (1995) interaction analysis model provided the overarching framework for all analyses, more specific methods appropriate to the size and scope of this study were used for analyzing various forms of data. For field note and audiotape analyses, Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) protocol was followed. This process began with re-reading field notes or listening again to tape recordings carefully as data sets; I read field notes and listened to recordings multiple times. Second, asking questions of the data followed the initial review. In other words, what seemed of

particular interest, and why? Next, open coding was used to inductively create themes or categories based upon patterns in the data. In this phase, I tried to compare data sets and look within data sets for patterns related to the questions in the last step. After open coding, initial interpretive memos were written, and themes were selected for follow-up coding. At this point, the patterns in the data created categories in which I wrote down notes attempting to interpret the data. Finally, follow-up focused coding helped to target specific categories of interest, and writing integrative memos elaborated on data and linked themes, ultimately, creating theory from this process. So, the last step was to focus on particular categories and attempt to make connections between categories in an effort to understand the data in a larger sense.

Videotape and Photograph Analyses

For videotape and photograph analyses, Collier and Collier's (1986) model was followed. This model includes four stages of analysis that are quite similar to those used by Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995). Stage One includes observing data again while looking for patterns and writing responsive notes and questions. During this stage, I merely watched the videotapes of musical activities and looked at the photographs many times, while writing down my initial impressions and comments. Stage Two consists of creating an inventory or log of the visual content based upon categories that surface from the data. As I had already written complete content logs of the videotaped musical activities for the overall analysis, this part included adding detail to particularly interesting segments. Stage Three is a structured analysis; specific questions lead to a directed investigation of the data that yield detailed descriptions and comparisons. After reflecting on questions stemming from the analysis thus far, I attempted to make

connections between categories. For instance, how did the group structure of handclapping games compare with that of dances? Finally, Stage Four requires the investigator to revisit the complete data collection in order to look for the significance of the details and overarching themes in the field record, again, generating theory about music learning from the data. As with the field notes and audiotapes, the last part of the analysis is to attempt to piece the puzzle back together. What does it all mean?

Summary

Qualitative research is by and large a study of the quality of something, someone, and somewhere. For this project, the hope is to understand the quality of the music learning processes of African-American children in Tucson. While a qualitative study does not allow for the precise insight into specific variables in the way that quantitative research does, it does provide a more comprehensive understanding of those variables. While the positive and negative aspects of the qualitative nature of this study have been outlined in this chapter, I believe that the benefits outweigh the drawbacks and can provide perspicacity regarding these communities of practice. The following chapter continues the details of the methodology by providing information regarding the participants and contexts of the research project.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH CONTEXTS AND PARTICIPANTS

Two research sites within Pima County, Arizona were chosen for this study. The first site, the Ocotillo Neighborhood Center, is located just north of the downtown area of Tucson and slightly west of the University of Arizona. For this project, the summer recreation program for children at the Ocotillo Neighborhood Center was the context for initial research from June to August 2001. Research was conducted with the summer program members on a daily basis during weekdays for several hours a day. This locale was chosen for its long established summer youth program and receptive attitude toward research being conducted at the site. The Ocotillo Center was briefly revisited in August 2002 for follow-up meetings.

The second site for fieldwork was Saguaro Elementary School. Saguaro is located in a rural, northwest part of Tucson outside the city limits. Fieldwork was undertaken from January through May 2002, with the researcher meeting with participants for thirty minutes once per week. The meeting times were limited due to the rigorous daily schedules in students' classrooms. Saguaro was selected as a site for study because as the music teacher for the school and the sole researcher for this project, I was privileged to know the staff and students at the school already. Thus, I had already built relationships with the participants, and the administration and teachers welcomed the project at the school.

The Community of Tucson, Arizona

Geography

Tucson, Arizona is a unique city situated in the northern part of the Sonoran Desert among saguaro cacti and mesquite trees. The Tortolita, Santa Catalina, Rincon, Santa Rita, and Tucson Mountains surround Tucson, creating a geographical basin at 2,389 feet above sea level with high temperatures, gusty winds, and an annual monsoon season. The Tucson metropolis covers nearly 500 square miles, although it is a bit difficult to determine where the city proper lays because the city sprawls and blends with the surrounding suburbs of Oro Valley and Marana, the Tohono O'odham and San Xavier Indian reservations, and the Saguaro National Parks and Coronado National Forest, eventually feathering out into rural ranch and farm areas. Tucson is about an hour's drive away from the border of Mexico and, thus, has considerable Mexican and Spanish cultural influences and a sizable 27.8 percent of its population who primarily speak Spanish at home, according to the 2000 U.S. Census. The city is also home to the University of Arizona and the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, making it a place of relocation for members of these organizations.

Population and Ethnicity

Founded in 1775 and incorporated in 1877 with a population of 7,000 and an area of about two square miles, Tucson has quickly grown, making it the second largest city in Arizona and the thirtieth largest city in the nation in 2000. According to the U.S. Census data of 2000, the city's population had grown to 486,699, and Tucson is expected to continue growing for a projected population of 595,807 in 2010. In fact, the U. S. Census reports that the mountain states are the nation's fastest growing region, and Arizona leads

the charge with a 3,665,339 population in 1999 and 5,307,331 in 2001—a 45 percent increase.

The ethnicity of Tucson is somewhat hard to determine, as ethnicity itself is a conundrum. The 2000 census has racial categories, but because some categories were combined or grouped and people identified themselves as having shared ancestry, percentages are questionable. In any case, it seems that the majority of people living in Tucson were "White" at 54.2 percent, slightly lower than the county's group at 61.5 percent, the state's size of 63.8 percent, and the country's number of 69.1 percent. Between 1990 and 2000, the portion of the population represented as "White" had shrunk reflecting a similar trend in the county, state, and country. In Tucson, the percentage changed from 63.7 to 54.2, in Pima County—68.5 to 61.5, in Arizona—71.7 to 63.8, and in the United States—75.6 to 69.1. (See Table 1.)

Alternatively, the largest minority of people, who also showed considerable growth, were "Hispanic or Latino (of any race)" at 35.7 percent in Tucson, 29.3 percent in Pima County, 25.3 percent in Arizona, and 12.5 percent in the U. S. These numbers have increased since 1990 from 28.9 percent, 24.2 percent, 18.8 percent, and 9.0 percent respectively. As expected, due to Tucson's close proximity to Mexico, more people identified with this racial category in and around Tucson, than in the country on the whole. (See Table 1.)

In Tucson, the next largest minority was "Black or African American" at 4.3 percent, compared to Pima County's 3.0 percent and Arizona's 3.1 percent. These numbers are in stark contrast to the U.S. percentage of 12.3. While the nation has two large minority groups growing steadily—Hispanic and Black, Tucson has a sizable and

growing Hispanic population with a stable, smaller Black population. Between 1990 and 2000, the Black population in Tucson remained at 4.3 percent. In Pima County, it barely changed from 3.1 to 3.0. Similarly, in Arizona, it moved from 3.0 to 3.1 percent, but in the United States, it grew from 12.1 to 12.3 percent. This is not a huge increase for the nation, but it does show a 15.58 percent growth overall. (See Table 1.)

Table 1

1990 and 2000 U. S. Census Data on Major Racial Categories

	White %		Hispanic or Latino (of any race) %		Black or African American %	
Location	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
Tucson	63.7	54.2	28.9	35.7	4.3	4.3
Pima County	68.5	61.5	24.2	29.3	3.1	3.0
Arizona	71.7	63.8	18.8	25.3	3.0	3.1
United States	75.6	69.1	9.0	12.5	12.1	12.3

Note. Percentages are portions of the entire population for any specified region.

Other minority groups cited in the 2000 census were: "American Indian and Alaskan Native," which in Tucson amounting to 2.3 percent; "Asian," composing 2.5 percent of the population; "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander," making up a 0.2 percent portion; and "Some Other Race." Also included in the 2000 census was an additional profile of people identifying themselves as belonging to more than one racial category, however, the data becomes quite convoluted at this point.

For the purposes of this project, it is important to point out the small minority of people that are identified as "Black" or "African American." While the minority seems large in comparison to people identifying with some of the "Asian" subcategories, it is

much smaller than that of the national average. With a large majority of people identifying as "White," and a sizable "Hispanic" or "Latino" population, African Americans are certainly not an influence in terms of numbers in the city.

Summary

I hope that the information presented thus far helps the reader to get a sense of the larger geographical and populace setting for this research project. While much more could be said about African Americans in Tucson, such as in terms of education and employment, it seems to digress from the focus of the study too much and is thus available in Appendix G.

Ocotillo Neighborhood Center

Facility Description

The Ocotillo Center is one of five recreation centers run by the City of Tucson's Parks and Recreation Department and is located in downtown Tucson. It is devoted not only to providing recreation programs and activities for the surrounding area, but also much needed social services. This particular facility includes recreation programs that are free or nominally priced such as: after-school and summer play programs for children, teen volunteer and recreation programs, and sports camps for children. The programs that require fees also have financial assistance available to participants from low-income households. In addition, the center offers or facilitates social services like the senior citizens program, which provides free daily meals, monthly food boxes, and a place to socialize with others in the community. Other social programs, such as the Arizona Department of Economic Security and Women in Crisis, a federal organization, supply

on-site assistance for individuals who are qualified to receive benefits. As a center responding to the needs of the surrounding community, Ocotillo has a community food bank, English classes for non-native speakers, and rooms open to community organizations for meetings.

Locale

The physical setting of the neighborhood center is clean and somewhat new. The facility consists of a large building, outdoor covered basketball courts and play structures, and a paved parking area. In front of the building, a wide porch area with benches is usually occupied by senior citizens socializing or people waiting for transportation. Upon entering the building, visitors are greeted at a large front-desk area, where they sign in and get information if needed. To the right of the front desk is a cafeteria where the senior citizens program is run and meals are served. The cafeteria is usually bustling with activity and people working or participating in the program. To the left of the front desk is a main hallway lined with empty rooms, offices, and a lounge. This connects with another hallway looping around to the opposite side of the front desk. The empty rooms are used at various times for classes or meetings. At the very end of the large hallway stand the game room and indoor recreation room housing the summer youth program.

The game room is furnished with stuffed chairs and couches, coffee tables, table-and-chair sets, pool tables, a fooseball or soccer table, a ping-pong table (sometimes laid over one of the pool tables), a large-screen television with VCR, and cubbies and coat hooks for children's belongings. Outside the game room are vending machines for snacks and drinks and public restrooms. A large sliding window with a counter faces the

game room and connects to the summer program office. The summer program office also has a window-counter area on the opposite wall that opens to the indoor recreation room. The recreation room is essentially a large gym-like room with stacks of chairs along the walls. This room is used for any indoor, large motor-skill games or as a meeting place for all participants to gather. The layout of the three rooms—game room, office, and recreation room—allows for employees who are not working directly with the children to continue to monitor activities and occasionally sell snacks. The three rooms are also at the end of the main hallway, which leads outside to the playgrounds and basketball courts. This location is useful in keeping the entire group of children, and workers, in close proximity to one another.

Employees

During the time of the study—June through August, 2001—working at the center was basically a summer job for the summer youth program's recreation assistants. Many of them had career aspirations other than those in the field of recreation or youth services, although one was going to college to become a teacher. Most of the recreation assistants were between the ages of 19 and 21. The youth program coordinator, a slightly older White woman probably in her early thirties, had worked at the center for 11 years, but had recently decided to change careers and was attending massage therapy school in the evenings. The employees were fairly self-contained in their work, but were accountable to the recreation program coordinator, a middle-aged Black man who oversaw all recreational programs. In a position similar to his was the social service coordinator, a middle-aged Hispanic woman who was responsible for all the social service programs offered at the center. At the top of the hierarchy was the center's supervisor, a middle-

aged Black woman who was essentially the manager of the facility. For these coordinators and supervisors, their jobs were long-term careers, rather than temporary employment like the recreation assistants.

Activities

During the research timeframe, the summer program offered activities for children, ages five to twelve years, while school was not in session for the summer. Children participated in card games, ping-pong, table soccer, pool, basketball, and other indoor and outdoor games as weather permitted. They also took field trips to local attractions, such as the zoo and art museum, and traveled to the nearby public pool when possible. Occasionally, an art instructor helped the members create arts and crafts projects, and the participants were regularly allowed to play on the outdoor jungle gyms or watch entertainment videos on the indoor large-screen television. Daily events were sometimes structured by the workers in the program in 45-minute rotations, but children were often granted "free choice" to pick their activities. Breakfast and lunch was also provided to the children and workers by the Tucson school district in which the center is located.

Participants

On any given day, the number of children present in the program ranged from approximately 30 to over 40. The number of girls and boys in attendance each day was about equally divided, and three major categories of ethnicity seemed apparent: European American, African American, and Mexican American. (The judgment of ethnicity was made solely on the basis of the physical features of participants and their social circles.) European American, or White, children were generally the minority, making up 19 to 27

percent of the participants present on any given day. African American, or Black, children remained a steady 38 percent of the whole group in attendance, and the number of Mexican American, or Hispanic, children at the program varied, ranging from 35 to 43 percent. (See Figure 1.)

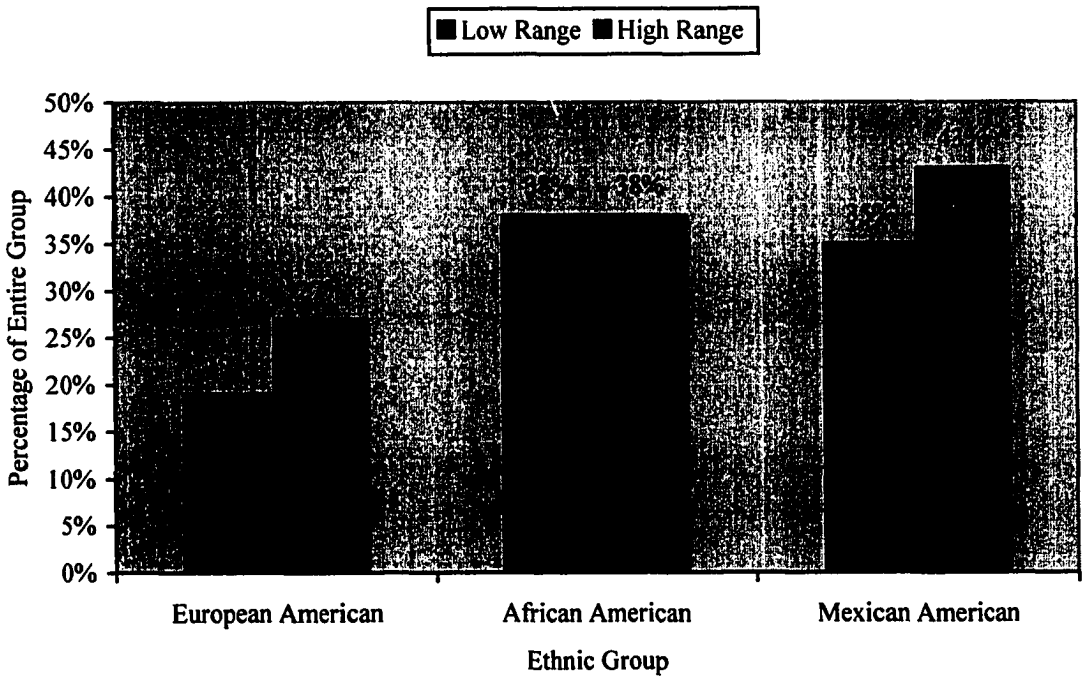

Figure 1. Ranges of Ocotillo participant attendance by ethnic group.

Although children often had time together as a large group, smaller rotating group activities also took place. Children were divided into age groups as follows: Group A—six to seven years, Group B—eight to nine years, Group C—ten to eleven years, and Group D—twelve years. Group D was generally the smallest group in number on any given day, making up 17 to 20.5 percent of the total participants. Group B comprised a slightly larger portion of the total children in attendance, at about 20.5 to 21 percent. Group A was the second largest percentage of participants ranging from 24 to 29, and Group C was consistently the largest age group present, encompassing 33 to 35 percent

of the entire children. (See Figure 2.) Additionally, approximately six of the recreation assistants and the youth program coordinator were generally present each day.

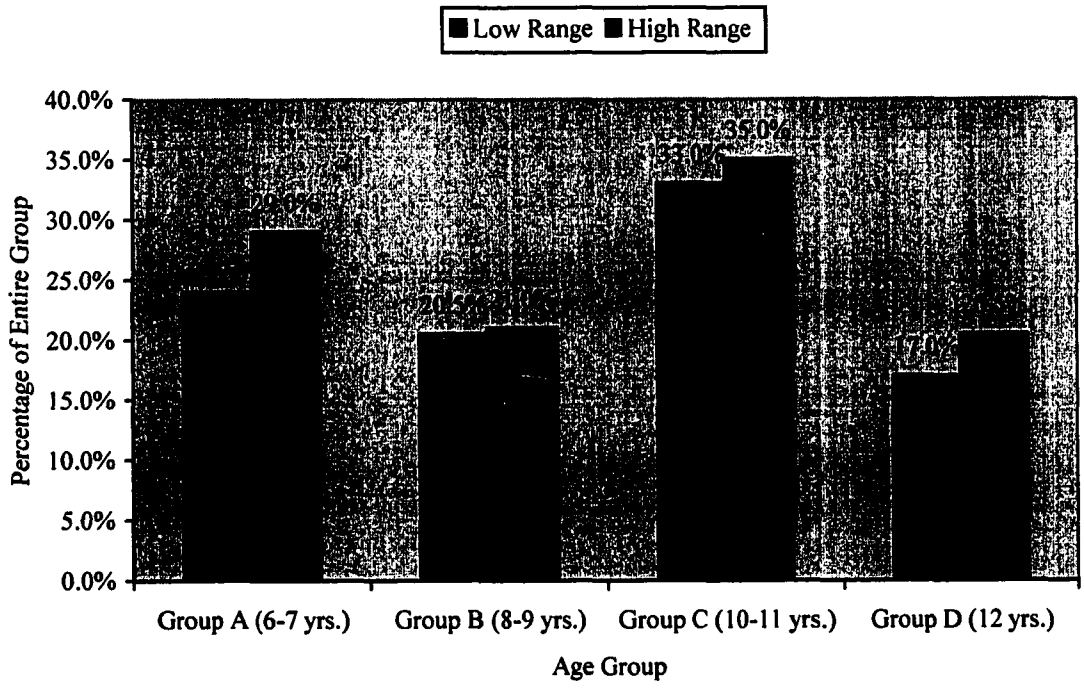

Figure 2. Ranges of Ocotillo participant attendance by age group.

According to an interview with the youth program coordinator, children who attended the summer program were generally from unstable home environments. The children were divided between those who lived in group foster homes, approximately three-fourths of the group, and those who lived with a parent or parents, the remaining one-fourth. The summer recreation program was meant to last from about 8:30 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. Children who were living in foster homes stayed on this schedule because a local social service provided transportation to and from the group homes. However, children who lived at home were often less reliable in their attendance and, if they did attend, stayed far beyond 2:00 p.m., sometimes until the center's closing time of 6:00

p.m. The kids living at home were extremely poor with parents who often received welfare and were sometimes involved with drug dealing. One story circulating at the center at the time of this study involved a child excited to see a parent on a weekend visit who came back the next week with obvious marks of abuse on his body. Another disturbing occurrence during that time involved a shooting in the neighborhood possibly linked to drugs and gangs; workers at the center seemed to think they knew who might be involved with it. The fact that these children stay at the center far beyond the end of the program, live in economically unstable homes often without biological parents, show signs of physical abuse, and are privy to dangerous crimes, gives an indication of the difficulties they face on a daily basis.

Working With the Participants

My involvement with participants began as an outsider observing and taking notes on all the activities and participants involved with the program. I was introduced as a music teacher needing to watch the children as part of a college class. The children seemed indifferent to my presence, although occasionally participants would be curious as to what I was continually writing about. While several individual children stood out as significant to the study, soon two groups of girls (ages nine to twelve years) became focus groups who thought it was their responsibility to teach me what they knew about music.

The first group included seven members: Tazha, nine years old and Black; Iris and Kristy, both nine years old and Hispanic; Rochelle, eleven years old, Black, and Tazha's sister; June, eleven years old and either Hispanic or White; Esperanza, twelve years old and Hispanic; and Tiffany, twelve years old and either Hispanic or White.

After awhile, this group stopped collaborating, and another group formed, later adding some of the members of group one. The second group consisted of: Afrika, Roxanne, and Orchid, all eleven years old and Black; Sable, twelve years old and Black; and Giselle, twelve years old and Hispanic. Tazha and Rochelle later joined up with the second group as well. (See Table 2.)

Table 2

Ocotillo Participants

Participants	Age in years	Ethnicity
	Group 1	
Tazha	9	AA
Kristy	9	MA
Iris	9	MA
Rochelle	11	AA
June	11	MA or EA
Esperanza	12	MA
Tiffany	12	MA or EA
	Group 2	
Tazha	9	AA
Rochelle	11	AA
Afrika	11	AA
Roxanne	11	AA
Orchid	11	AA
Sable	12	AA
Giselle	12	MA

Note. "AA" represents African American; "MA" represents Mexican American; and "EA" represents European American.

Access to Music

As this study regards musical learning, it is important to note the Ocotillo participants' access to music. There was no music program per se in place at the summer youth program. Nonetheless, the children showed great musical awareness, much of which seemed to come from the media and informal learning contexts with friends at school and in their neighborhoods and family at home. Although most of the children did not own personal CDs or CD players, they were aware of currently popular music and musicians by sharing the few CDs that they had with one another and watching and listening to music television. They also generated original music and movements in the form of songs, raps, claps, dances, and combinations thereof.

Despite the fact that most of the children had some sort of music instruction at school in the form of general music classes or specialized instrumental classes, such as band or mariachi, the participants rarely discussed these classes or demonstrated any knowledge or skills specifically taught to them, nor did they seem overly interested in sharing this information. Participants were eager, however, to play popular music and discuss musicians they deemed successful in the music industry, particularly in the hip-hop realm. At the center, they did have occasional access to a CD player that seemed to be owned by the senior citizens group and sometimes were able to borrow CDs owned by the recreation assistants. After having problems obtaining these materials, however, I asked the groups what music they would like to have access to and brought a CD player and CDs for them to use. In addition, some of the girls regularly sang in a church choir or at least had experience with gospel music. They had a repertoire of songs they were familiar with, and took pride in being able to perform this music. Overall, it seemed that

their school, neighborhood, church, and home environments facilitated the Ocotillo participants' access to music, but primarily their friends, their church, and the media influenced their musical preferences.

Saguaro Elementary School

Setting

Saguaro Elementary is located 16 miles northwest of the city of Tucson near the Saguaro National Park. Saguaro's school district covers 550 square miles, making it one of the largest geographical, although not the most densely populated, districts in the state of Arizona. While Saguaro Elementary School is in a rural area, many of the district's schools are in suburban areas. The main reason is an interstate highway divides the district with the rural schools being separated from their suburban counterparts. Saguaro's school district was founded in the 1920s and Saguaro Elementary itself was built in 1973. In 2001, the Saguaro School District included 17 schools and approximately 12,200 students and 1,300 employees. Of these schools, 11 are elementary schools, two are middle schools, two are high schools, and two are alternative-placement schools for students with special behavioral needs. Several of the schools have received awards of excellence with five being designated "A+" schools by the state Arizona and three receiving "National Blue Ribbon" awards from the U. S. Department of Education.

Saguaro Elementary School is an attractive school with desert animals painted on the front of the building and cacti and small native trees decorating the grounds and parking area. The entry to the school has a desert scene painted above the walkway

welcoming people, however, an electric security gate poignantly signifies the importance of safety on campus. Passing the entry, the campus is laid out as a large box with corners that extend out in three lines. The classrooms make up the outer "box" and extending arms. They stand in groups of two, joined by a shared office in what the teachers refer to as "pods." All classes have a front-door entry to the courtyard and a back-door exit used occasionally during emergency drills. The courtyard, certainly the most attractive feature of the school, has an outdoor amphitheater where school-wide meetings and events take place, tall palm trees and smaller mesquite trees shading the area, a gazebo and picnic table available for class gatherings, and rose bushes around the outer edge of the grass. The school also has buildings in between the classrooms that are usual to elementary schools, like the cafeteria, library, performance stage, main office, and bathrooms. Outside of the enclosed portion of campus, the school has playgrounds with jungle gym areas, basketball courts, an outdoor pavilion, and grassy fields. In this outer area, a few buildings stand apart connected by sidewalks to the school. These buildings house the before- and after-school program, the Head Start program, and the Wellness Center. In general, the school looks inviting and is well maintained, although its age is beginning to show.

Organization and Leadership

Saguaro Elementary School is organized like most of the elementary schools in the Saguaro District. A school principal heads the school supported by two professional office staff members—a secretary and an attendance clerk. During the time that research took place in the spring of 2002, the principal decided to retire for personal reasons

following a six-year tenure. The next year, 2002-2003, a principal from another elementary school within the district transferred to Saguaro to take over this position.

The school's staff itself is made up of about 50 members, excluding the bus transportation staff that is employed by the district and cafeteria staff that is employed by a private food service. Since 2000, there have been approximately 30 teachers and six teacher aides regularly on staff. The teachers' experience and education is somewhat diverse, with about half of the teachers having nine or fewer years of teaching experience and half having ten or more years. The educational attainment of the teachers included a little less than half the individuals having only a Bachelor's degree and over half holding a Master's degree. No teacher was listed as having a degree higher than a Master's. (See Figure H1.) Aside from teachers and teacher aides, Saguaro's staff includes: a part-time school psychologist, a school counselor, a part-time ESL aide, a part-time computer aide, a librarian, the two office personnel mentioned previously, a part-time nurse, a part-time health-aide, a maintenance person, a part-time groundskeeper, and about two to three custodians.

Educational and Social Services

Saguaro's educational programs stem from the school's mission, which strives to motivate students to reach their potential and encourages the staff, students, and community to collaborate in this endeavor. Thus, Saguaro Elementary has optional looping classes (teachers teach the same group of children for more than one year), classrooms equipped with personal computers and printers, a classroom-sized computer lab, on-site special education services, after-school and summer tutoring, a gifted program, speech services, English language services, and a volunteer-driven reading lab.

The school's academic goals for 2001 through 2003 have targeted literacy, math, and technology skills. To reach these goals, the staff collaborated and wrote end-of-the-year expectations with ways to meet these expectations and tied the plan to their district's performance-based pay plan. Saguaro has a preschool program for three- and four-year-olds, a Head Start program, before- and after-school childcare sponsored by the school district, an after-school and summer recreation program provided by the Pima County Parks and Recreation Department, and the usual gamut of clubs and extracurricular classes, such as 4-H, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, Library Club, and student council.

Saguaro Elementary School has been identified as one serving many economically disadvantaged children and thus, receives Title I financial assistance (under Improving America's Schools Act of 1994, H. R. 6) and free and reduced meal benefits (from the National School Lunch Program, NSLP, and School Breakfast Program, SBP). The Title I monies fund reading and math tutoring and classes led by certified teachers for children targeted as educationally and economically at risk. The free and reduced meal programs provided free and reduced-fee breakfasts and lunches to 57 percent of Saguaro's students during the 2001-2002 school year and 73.54 percent of the students during the 2002-2003 school year. These numbers are substantially higher than the number of students eligible in the entire school district for the same timeframe, which were 37 and 26 percent respectively, and slightly higher than the national data of 56.8 and 57.6 percent. The nutrition program also makes meals available during the summertime at the school. (See Table I1.)

Other resources are available to families of Saguaro who might have financial needs or needs associated with poverty. A clothing bank and food bank operated by the

school's Wellness Center offers items to students and their families. Not only may families go directly to the Wellness Center building, but employees of the school may also refer students to the center during school, as it is located on campus. A full-time counselor and part-time school psychologist are available to students, and counseling services for the community are provided on an as-needed basis. Parenting classes and crisis intervention services are also accessible. Finally, bus transportation to and from school at regular school times and two days per week after school is open to all students and is utilized by the majority of students at Saguaro.

Enrollment and Attendance

Originally founded as a typical K-6 school, Saguaro Elementary School is now a public primary school for children in kindergarten through grade three. A "sister" school was built next door a few years ago to school the children in grades four through six due to overcrowding. Saguaro school now serves around 550 students who are divided into an average of six class sections per grade level. The enrollment rate has dropped gradually over the past few years, with the 1999 enrollment at 603, the 2000 enrollment at 573, the 2001 enrollment at 551, and the 2002 enrollment at 539. (See Table J1.)

Achievement

Of those students attending Saguaro Elementary, their promotion rates exceeded state levels, and their retention rates were below the state levels. The promotion rates at Saguaro were 99 percent in 2000, 99.3 percent in 2001, and 98.9 percent in 2002. Compare this with Arizona's K-6 levels of 97.7 percent in 2000, 98.7 percent in 2001, and 98.4 percent in 2002. Saguaro's retentions increased slightly over time from 0.8 percent in 2000 to 0.7 percent in 2001 to 1.1 percent in 2002. Arizona retentions

averaged out to 1.4 percent for these three years with 1.4 percent in 2000, 1.3 percent in 2001, and 1.5 percent in 2003. (See Table K1.)

Participants

The participants for this portion of the study were chosen based upon grade and ethnic category listed on school enrollment forms. As the research proposed to look at musical learning amongst African-American children, students whose parents or guardians listed their ethnicity as "Black (not Hispanic origin)" and were in the first, second, or third grades for the 2001-2002 school year were all contacted. Students who were going to be attending kindergarten were ineligible for the project because they only attended school for half the day at Saguaro. Of the 441 students enrolled in grades one through three in January 2002, twelve students, or 2.7 percent, matched the above criteria.

Like the Ocotillo participants, the Saguaro participants had access to music classes at school. Unlike the Ocotillo site, however, the Saguaro students were familiar with me, as I was their music teacher. Music classes were general in nature. In other words, they were broad in scope, including instruction in theory, analysis, history, culture, singing, playing, and moving, while not specifically focusing on performance techniques. All first, second, and third grades attended music classes for thirty minutes, twice per week in a classroom devoted to music instruction. Kindergarteners did not attend music classes due to their half-day schedule, but did have music instruction in their homeroom classes with their classroom teachers. The school was very supportive of the music program, and it was seen as an integral academic part of the students' curriculum.

I believe, in part, the staff support for the music program allowed for a positive attitude toward the research project. Thus, after determining who could possibly be part of the study group, the principal of the school approved meeting with the children once per week on Fridays for thirty minutes. The teachers were responsible for sending the children at the beginning of the day, as long as this did not interfere with what was happening in their classrooms. The staff seemed supportive of the program, as they saw it as beneficial research and a supplemental music experience for the students. Thus, the group began meeting in the school's music room for thirty minutes once per week from January through May, 2002. Overall, the students ended up meeting a total of nine times, as holidays and school events sometimes canceled our time together.

Of the 12 students eligible to participate, 11 actually took part in the research, and nine attended our meetings regularly. The two children who only showed up occasionally were either absent or had behavioral resource or special education classes conflicting with our meeting time. Both of these students were male, one being in first grade and one in second. Of the nine regular attendees in the focus group, four were females and five were males, four were in second grade and five were in third. For the purposes of relating age to grade, one can assume that students in first grade are generally six to seven years of age, students in second grade are usually seven to eight years old, and students in third grade are often eight to nine. The following table identifies the participants in the Saguaro focus group. (See Table 3.)

Table 3

Saguaro Participants

Student	Grade	Gender
Sasha	2	Female
Sabrina	2	Female
Ellen	2	Female
Michael	2	Male
Crystal	3	Female
Henry	3	Male
Roger	3	Male
Vashaun	3	Male
John	3	Male

At the Saguaro group's meetings, I would usually provide materials for the children to do with as they wished, such as instruments, jump ropes, CDs, and a CD player. Each session was noted and videotaped in an effort to get as much detail as possible. Although I was guiding their behavior to an extent by providing resources to them or asking them to show me particular activities, I attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible. The group immediately interacted with one another, but hesitated in verbal interactions until they became a bit more comfortable together. After awhile, I also interviewed the children informally while in our group setting.

Access to Music

The students' involvement in music at home and in their neighborhoods was somewhat difficult to determine, as the children lived in a rural area in which neighbors and classmates were not clustered together, as was the case with the Ocotillo girls. Also, the Ocotillo participants were a bit older than the Saguaro children, which may have allowed them a bit more autonomy of choice in their activities. In any case, the Saguaro

participants seemed to interact with each other at school, mainly if they were in the same grade with the same lunch-recess period, and a few were related to each other and lived in the same homes: Ellen and Crystal were sisters and Sabrina and Vashaun were siblings.

In terms of media influence, the Saguaro participants were aware of some popular music and musicians, also mainly in the area of hip-hop, but did not show the knowledge or interest that the Ocotillo girls did. They did, however, demonstrate similar musical activities, like handclaps and jump-rope rhymes, they had learned from one another, from friends, or from family members. On no occasion, did any of the Saguaro participants demonstrate or discuss music related to church. It is unknown whether this is due to a lack of religious affiliation, a sense that it was inappropriate material for school, or merely no particular reason at all. On the whole, the Saguaro participants' access to music included music classes, learning in other school contexts (e.g., playground), and learning in the home environment, either from family or friends or through access to media. However, no specific realm seemed more or less important to their musical experiences.

Summary

Qualitative research in social sciences requires an approach focusing on contexts and processes in order to understand the phenomena at hand. Describing participants and the ecologies in which they are a part is helpful for understanding the purposes and motivations behind actions, something quantitative studies cannot often provide. This study involves two settings for research—the Ocotillo Neighborhood Center and Saguaro

Elementary School—both within the area of Tucson, Arizona, and three primary focus groups—two groups at the center and one at the school. Because the participants, and particularly the settings, are quite different, the detail of Chapter Four is an attempt to provide description to the reader and illuminate possible connections or divisions in the data analyses. The following chapter concentrates on the specific details of the music activities engaged in by the participants—the heart of the study.

CHAPTER 5

MUSICAL ACTIVITIES

The impetus for this research came from a desire to enrich the body of literature on multicultural music education. The hope is that this study will provide information not only on the content of musical activities, but also on the methods of learning music, demonstrated by the participants. In other words, what are the music learning processes that African-American children exhibit when working with one another outside of an adult-guided, instructional context? This general question considers several more specific questions, such as: (a) what genres of music or types of musical activities are apparent amongst the African-American children in this study; (b) are these musical activities similar or different between the two focal groups; (c) what are the musical and social natures of the music learning processes demonstrated by the children in this study; and (d) are the learning processes similar or different between the two groups?

The purpose of Chapter Five is to relate the results of the research in terms of the musical activities witnessed. This chapter discusses the musical activities performed by the participants, including: handclaps, jump-rope games, drills, songs, and dances. Recall that when reviewing the literature on African-American children's music, these same genres of musical play appeared, although the literature also included: circle or ring games, line games, and jumps and skips. The distinction between an activity being a game or a play was unclear because few researchers specifically discussed this issue, although Jones and Lomax Hawes (1972) assert that games are activities with "if-then" consequences included in the rules, and plays are activities that are a sort of mini-drama.

For ease of reading, I will again use game and play interchangeably in the following sections meaning that children are interacting in musical exchanges that also seem recreational, but the possible distinction between the terms should be kept in mind.

Handclaps

Handclaps were demonstrated by both groups of children, although the younger participants practiced them more often. Handclaps were also deemed to be appropriate for younger children by the older girls at the neighborhood center during an interview. Because of this, more information is available on handclaps from the school group, than from the neighborhood participants. (Handclapping games can be viewed on the enclosed video compact disc.)

School Group

In the school setting, there was one session in particular in which I told participants that I would like to learn more about handclaps and asked them to show me any claps that they knew. At this meeting, the room in which we met was organized with a circle of chairs and the video camera on a tripod filming at one end of the circle. The meeting began with John, Henry, and Roger seated at the chairs, and Crystal, Sabrina, Ellen, Sasha, and Vashaun joining them as the session continued. Recall from Table 7 that John, Henry, Roger, and Vashaun were all third-grade boys; Sabrina, Sasha, and Ellen were all second-grade girls; and Crystal was a third-grade girl. Also, Sabrina and Vashaun are siblings, and Ellen and Crystal are sisters. The following sections on the school group's interactions are organized chronologically as the session unfolded.

Henry's story. Henry and John began the session with a handclap that they had done spontaneously during the previous week. The syncopated, four-beat clap pattern consisted of an individual clapping his own hands together, clapping one hand diagonally across to his partner, clapping his own hands, clapping the other hand across to his partner, clapping his own hands, and repeating. The chant that accompanied the clapping was a two-measure rhythm in common time spoken by Henry alone: "Henry is the prince, prince, prince. John is the mailman, mailman, mailman." This chant was repeated several times. Then, another line was added: "Roger is the trash boy, trash boy, trash boy." Roger, who had been sitting quietly says, "Ahh!" and the group all laughed. Roger indignantly said, "I am *not* gonna be the trash boy!" Everyone continued to laugh, and John joked, "Okay, you can be the maid." Robert yelled, "No!" This interaction was playful in nature, as all the boys were laughing, and the lyrics were improvised according to who was present at the time. The teasing going on in this exchange is a salient feature, either of handclapping or male interactions or both. Teasing was not apparent in any other genre of music activity, nor was it present when females worked together alone. This issue is discussed further in Chapter Six.

"Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat." At this point, I asked Roger and John to demonstrate a handclap they called, "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," which they had clapped the week before. This clap pattern was a more complex clap that began with partners having one hand positioned low and facing up and the other hand positioned high and facing down. The partners would clap hands by moving up and down once, clap both hands directly across to one another, clap their own hands, clap one hand diagonally across and clap own hands, then clap the other hand diagonally across and clap their own

hands. Being in a 7/8 meter that did not match the 4/4 meter of the chant further complicated it. The chant was somewhat melodic in nature and also consisted of two-measure phrases. Roger chanted the rhyme alone:

> Miss Suzy had a steamboat, the steamboat had a bell (ding, ding).
> Miss Suzy went to heaven, the steamboat went to...
>
> Hello operator, please give me number nine,
> And if you disconnect me, I'll kick you from behind...
>
> The 'fridgerator, laid a piece of glass.
> Miss Suzy sat upon it, and broke her little...
>
> Ask me no more questions, for I will tell no lie.
> The boys are in the bathroom, zipping up their...
>
> Flies are in the meadow, the bees are in the grass.
> Miss Suzy and her boyfriend are kissing in the dark.

The first time that the boys clap this game, Roger actually inserted Henry's name instead of "operator" and also substituted, "And if he doesn't get out of the way, I'll kick him in the behind!" At this point, he started laughing and said that he had "made that part up." I asked him if he wanted to begin again, and the second time he clapped the game the way he had actually learned it.

It seems that the playful nature of the lyrics is a socially acceptable way to engage in mischievous or naughty behavior. These children probably would not speak to each other in such a way during everyday conversations because they regularly demonstrated polite behavior. For example, during one music activity, the children were going to use xylophones. While I was talking to the children about the session, Michael was playing while I was talking, and Henry told him, "That's rude, dude!" During another session, the children were dancing to rap music and would indicate to me whether they heard curse words in the lyrics, in order for me to change to a more "appropriate" song. The

lyrics to, "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," do not actually contain curse words, but the implication is there, giving participants a way to push the boundaries of what is socially acceptable.

When Roger began the handclap again, he held out his hands and snapped his fingers at John indicating his wish for John to join him. John seemed to understand Roger's desire and joined in without comment. It seems that snapping was a quick way for Roger to communicate his request without actually saying anything. The fact that John joined in without question also indicates that the gesture is one that had been used prior to this session.

I later asked Roger to sing, "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," in order to review the lyrics. When he sang it to me directly without clapping, he left out, "Miss Suzy sat upon it and broke her little...Ask me no more questions, for I will tell no lie. The boys are in the bathroom, zipping up their..." Instead, he went directly to, "The flies are in the meadow, the bees are in the grass, Miss Suzy and her boyfriend are kissing in the d-a-r-k," in which he actually spelled out the letters for "dark," and demonstrated that there was a different clap pattern at the end for each letter—the pattern was broken down into individual movements for each letter.

I am uncertain as to why Roger had changed the pattern, but it is possible that he continued the regular clap pattern to keep the handclap going without risking the possibility of a mistake. Perhaps, he did not recall the change in the ending until he reflected on it, or the second ending was an alternative ending. He did not elaborate on the change. The change does give one pause to think about the variety in handclap and jump-rope lyrics that are detailed later in this chapter, possibly indicating a personal

conscious decision to add variety to a chant or the breakdowns that occur due to the oral transmission of such music.

Other versions of this chant exist and have been recorded. Gaunt (1995) cites a portion of the chant she called, "Miss Lucy," that alludes to the vulgarity of the words:

> Behind the 'frigerator, there was a piece of glass.
> Miss Lucy fell upon it, and it went straight up her...
>
> Ask me no more questions. Tell me no more lies.
> The boys are in the bathroom, pullin' up their...
>
> Fly me up to heaven, etc. (p. 281)

Mattox (1989) writes a longer version of the chant, saying it is a version of an old English song, in which "Miss Lucy" has a specific melody and, in the African-American version, is played within the context of a ring game:

> Miss Lucy had a baby. She named him Tiny Tim.
> She put him in the bathtub, to see if he could swim.
>
> He drank up all the water. He ate up all the soap.
> He tried to eat the bathtub, but it wouldn't go down his throat.
>
> In came the doctor. In came the nurse.
> In came the lady with the alligator purse.
>
> "Chicken pox!" said the doctor. "Measles!" said the nurse.
> "Mumps!" said the lady with the alligator purse.
>
> Out went the doctor. Out went the nurse.
> Out went the lady with the alligator purse. (p. 14)

This is a rhyme that I recall from my own childhood, including the variations. Notice that the last version does not have the "naughtiness" of the first two, possibly indicating the African-American manipulation of the English version for purposes of expression. In any case, the variation that is cited in the previous examples illustrates how the process of

oral transmission in music and musical activity can include changes to original forms, especially if the transmission is cross-cultural.

Henry's story revisited. Following "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat, Henry, John, and Roger engaged in another improvised handclap in which discussion and negotiation determined the lyrics of the chant used with the handclap. It began with Henry and John clapping with their original clap pattern. This time, John said, "I have one! Henry is the queen, queen, queen." They stopped clapping and started laughing. They resumed clapping and Henry chanted, "Henry is the prince, prince, prince, and John is the...(John interjected "lawyer"). Roger stopped them and argued that he wanted to be the lawyer. John responded, "You're the trash boy." Roger raised his voice, "*You're* the trash boy!" Henry attempted to resolve the conflict by asking, "Whose gonna be the lawyer?" To which, Roger stated, "Me!" The three boys then started to clap in a circle. They began with John and Roger holding out their hands, as Roger had done earlier. Then, Roger told John, "You can be the secretary," and John yelled, "No!" They began to clap, but Roger stopped because he complained that the other two boys did not know how to do perform the more complicated clap. Therefore, John and Henry turned to one another and resumed clapping the more simplistic pattern together that they had used earlier while Roger sat sulking by himself. It seemed that the teasing had gone beyond fun.

John began chanting, "Henry is a water boy, boy, boy," but did not have a follow-up lyric. They stopped, and Henry held John's hands saying, "Wait, I'm gonna tell a story." The following lyrics were in the same rhythmic pattern as Henry's original lyrics. Henry chanted, "I met a mermaid in the sea, sea, sea." John inserts, "and its name was Henry, Henry, Henry." Henry responded by grabbing John's hands and smiling. They

started clapping again with the same rhyme, but paused when it came to saying the mermaid's name. Roger corrected them saying it would be a mer*man*, not a mer*maid*, if its name was Henry. Henry and John stopped and laughed with Roger. They started clapping again as Sasha, Vashaun, Sabrina, and Crystal came in. Henry chanted the same rhyme, but paused and repeated, "Um," several times until he thought of the name, "Mrs. Bee-oh-bee." As they continued to clap, Henry would hum or talk extraneously from the tempo when he did not have lyrics to chant, maintaining the same clap pattern and tempo. His chant continued, "I went to the planetarium, yesterday, and my car broke down, I mean, my bus broke down, and I was hungry, and they wouldn't feed me, so I was startin' to run right 'round" (These lyrics referred to a field trip they had taken the day before in third grade in which these events actually occurred.) The "story" did not appear to be finished, but John and Henry finally stopped clapping. This improvisation was impressive. Henry and John maintained a simplistic enough clap pattern to sustain the chanted story and did so without any prior instruction aside from Henry's comment about wanting to tell a story.

It also seems significant to point out that the boys would tease each other by assigning feminine roles to their partners in the chants. For example, John said, "Henry is the queen," to which they both laughed, and Henry revised by saying, "Henry is the prince." Later, when Henry continued the chant and described meeting a mermaid in the sea, John inserted, "and its name was Henry." Henry smiled and grabbed John's hands, and Roger interjected that a merman would be named Henry, not a mermaid. They all laughed about the play on words. At one point, there was also a dispute about whether Roger should be named a secretary in the chant. Roger immediately turned to Sabrina,

the only girl present at the time, and said she could be the secretary. This referral may or may not be a gender issue, since women more commonly undertake secretarial work, or possibly an issue related to class and status. Unfortunately, without follow-up commentary from the participants, it is difficult to interpret.

"Mailman, Mailman." I had seen Sasha and Sabrina performing a particular handclap on another occasion and asked them to demonstrate it for me in its entirety. The girls engaged in the same complex clap pattern that Roger had used earlier. The chant was one that I had heard at the neighborhood site, as well as from my own youth, but it did have some slightly different lyrics. Both girls chanted together:

> Mailman, mailman, do your duty.
> Here comes the lady with the African booty.
>
> She can do the pom, pom, she can do the twist.
> Most of all, she can kiss, kiss, kiss. K-I-S-S!

As they spelled the letters to "kiss," they would split their legs apart a little at a time. The game would then continue by chanting the rhyme again, continuing to split when they spelled, "kiss," until someone fell on the floor, at which point, the game would end. Roger also knew this rhyme and verified that the game would end when someone fell. The rest of the group seemed to know this game, but no one else demonstrated it. The group showed their recognition by telling the performers whether or not their splits were "baby steps," indicating the expectation that they had to split an adequate width to be fair.

When these three children engaged in the game later, I noted that they added a cheering movement when they said, "pom pom," a twisting motion when they said, "twist," and would touch their lips with two fingers each time they said, "kiss." The use

of the participants' bodies in this game is sexualized to the extent that beauty, cheerleading, and the possibility of physical affection between a man and woman are present. It is also interesting that this game was usually played between two girls, one who would be the winner of the game due to her handclapping and acrobatic prowess, and perhaps in a more subtle way, the winner of the man in the chant.

This chant is one that has been cited previously in the literature many times. Abrahams (1963) notes two different versions in his study on jump-rope rhymes in Philadelphia:

> Postman, postman, do your duty.
> Here comes Susie just like a beauty.
>
> She can rumba. She can tango. She can do the strip.
> She can wear her dress above her hips.
>
> Policeman, policeman, do your duty.
> Here comes Adelaide the American beauty.
>
> She can wiggle. She can waggle.
> But she can sure do the split, split, split. (p. 10)

Abrahams (1963) explains that whenever the text indicates a type of movement, the participants would do the movement as they jumped. When the word, "split," is chanted, the jumper would straddle the rope and the game would end. Rosenstiel (1977) transcribed the chant also as it pertained to jumping rope. No indication was given that participants moved according to the lyrics, but the game did end with participants counting jumps at an increasing pace until the jumper made a mistake. The name in the text referred to the jumper:

> Postman, postman, do your duty.
> Here comes Jane, the American beauty.

She can wiggle. She can waggle. She can do the split.
But she can't wear her skirt above her hip.

First comes love. Then comes marriage.
Then comes Janie with a baby carriage.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, etc. (p. 36)

A version more similar in text to the school group's rhyme is cited by Merrill-Mirsky (1990):

Mailman, mailman, do your duty.
Here come the lady with the African booty.

She could do da pompom. She could do da split.
She could do anything to make you split. (p. 213)

A nearly identical form is given by Gaunt (1988, p. 27) and Merrill-Mirsky (1990, p. 213):

Mailman, mailman, do your duty.
Here come the lady with da African booty.

She can do da wah-wah. She can do da splits.
She can do anything to make you split, so split!

Merrill-Mirsky (1990) cited this chant in terms of handclapping, and Gaunt (1988) referred to the rhyme as it went with jumping rope. The upcoming section on the neighborhood group's handclapping games also includes, "Mailman, Mailman."

The amount of variability in these versions is interesting in that although words have been changed, they often do not venture far from the issues of gender and sexuality. However, some versions support the use of sexuality in order to attract a man, while others insert social appropriateness. For example, Abrahams (1963) version includes, "She can wear her dress above her hips," while Rosenstiel's (1977) chant says, "But she can't wear her skirt above her hip." Also, notice that in Gaunt's (1988) versions, the girls practicing the rhyme actually end up spurning the man at the end of the rhyme, rather

than talking solely about what the girl in question can do to attract the man. The upcoming section on the neighborhood group's handclapping games also includes a variation of, "Mailman, Mailman," that illustrates differences possibly attributed to ethnicity (i.e., the "African booty").

"Miss Sue from Alabama." Sasha and Roger had engaged in a clapping game that none of the other participants seemed to know. I do not recall this clapping game growing up, but I have heard other students at the school chanting the game at various times. The game consisted of the complex clap pattern used for "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," and "Mailman, Mailman," along with movements demonstrating the lyrics. Both Sasha and Roger chanted the rhyme together, and the smooth regularity of the 4/4 meter became choppier as the tempo increased with the unfolding of the chant:

> Miss Sue. [clap, clap, clap]
> Miss Sue. [clap, clap, clap]
>
> Miss Sue from Alabama, her name was, "Louisiana." [clap in complex pattern]
> She was sitting in a rocking chair, eating baby crackers. [clap in complex pattern]
> Watching the clock go, [clap in complex pattern]
>
> Tick-tock, [tick-tock motion] tick-tock bananarack, [crazy-in-the-head motion]
> Tick-tock, [tick-tock motion] tick-tock bananarack. [crazy-in-the-head motion]
>
> A, B, C, D, E, F, G, [chopping down one arm with opposite hand]
> I got plastic surgery. [point and twist index fingers on cheeks]
>
> Moocha, [flick fingers out] moocha, [flick fingers out]
> Moocha, [flick fingers out] freeze! [freeze all motions]

I asked Sasha to sing the words again slowly for me without the motions, which she did, but she still mumbled some of them, making it difficult to understand. For example, "Louisiana," sounds like, "Hoosiana." The lyrics to the chant took several repeats before they could be transcribed, as Sasha and Roger continued to speed up until they reached

the end of the chant. The increasing tempo of the claps was especially noticeable during prior meetings where girls clapped in pairs, but was not apparent amongst the pairs of boys.

This particular chant was not one found at the neighborhood center site, nor was it one that appeared in the literature. It is possible that this is actually a chant that had originated at the school, although the children did not indicate where the handclap had come from. As stated previously, the other participants did not know this chant, but I have heard children engaging in this handclap at various times at the school. The lyrics of the chant seem disconnected in content, but do work together to create phonological interest, as Brady (1975) discusses. The line, "I got plastic surgery," also seems to indicate a recent creation or incarnation that alludes to issues of beauty or vanity.

Henry's story concluded. Later in the session, Henry and John continued their improvised story clap, arguing over which person was the chanter. John was adamant that he wanted to chant, but Henry insisted that he needed to finish his story. His insistence that he needed to "finish a story" demonstrates part of his motivation for engaging in the practice, in addition to his conceptualization of what the rhyme should consist of. On an aside, John had spoken words while clapping at other times, but he did not show much skill in creating lyrics, like Henry did. Their discussion did not last long, nor was it heated; the boys merely tried to persuade one another to let the other lead. Henry ended up leading the lyrics, while John listened and clapped along in the simpler clap pattern:

> Henry is the prince, prince, prince. [John: "Queen!"]
> John is the king, king, king.
> I went to the sea, sea, sea.
> I met a mermaid, mermaid, mermaid.

Her name was Bee, Bee, Bee. [John: "Herschel!"]
And she had...
And she had found, found, found.
Whose name was fish, fish, fish.
'Cause he didn't have a name, name, name.
And she went like this, went like this.
Jumped outta the sea, sea, sea.
Did a backflip backwards, back, backwards.
And then she...[He mumbled, and John said, "Robert is the trashboy."]
And then she said...and then she turned into a cheater, cheater, cheater.
And John married her, her, her.
[John exclaimed, "Oh! Ooo!" and both of them laughed.]
And then he 'came a fishboy, fishboy, fishboy.
Then Henry was, and Henry, and Henry was the triton, triton, triton.
Who was the king, king, king.
And then we said, said, said.
Let's go back home, the sand.
So we on the sand, sand, sand.
To see some air, air, air.
But we could not breathe, breathe, breathe. [Henry faltered.]
So Henry took, so Henry took his triton.
And turned us, turned us into people. [He then resumed the regular rhythm.]
Who didn't have no scales, scales, scales.
So we went on the land, land, land.
Then had a real wedding, wedding, wedding.
And they were real married people, married. [Henry faltered again.]
And John stole a...
And John stole a diamond, diamond, diamond.
For the-uh ring, ring, ring.
Then we all became rich, rich, rich.
Didn't live along the sand, sand, sand.
Good job, yo!

Henry ended his clapping with, "Yo!" but John did not anticipate the ending and continued to clap. Henry smiled as if he were proud of his story, and exclaimed, "It's hard!"

This musical exchange was one that exemplifies Rogoff's (1990) concept of individual appropriation in the context of creativity. As she explains:

> Many people seem to regard social processes as fostering a reproduction of knowledge, a following of previous examples. But while individual development and thinking are channeled by societal institutions and tools, individual

> appropriation of social practices occurs in the creative process. (Rogoff, 1990, p. 197)

In this case, Henry understood the certain expectations for a handclap, such as the words often rhyme and the clap adds rhythm for the chant. What is interesting is that other handclaps do not often tell a story, as Henry did. His rhyme was very long giving a richly detailed story. So, in this context of creativity, Henry appropriated a recognized social practice for his own use.

"Mary Mack." Several of the participants had mentioned that they knew the handclapping game, "Mary Mack," and engaged in it during this session. I did not ask them about this particular chant because it was one that I had actually taught them in music class, an example of adult-guided instruction. However, Ellen and Crystal, the sisters, seemed to like this chant, so I asked them to perform it in front of the video camera. I observed that both of them chanted the lyrics, rather than singing them, as they were taught to do in class:

> Miss Mary Mack, Mack, Mack,
> All dressed in black, black, black,
> With silver buttons, buttons, buttons,
> All down her back, back, back.
>
> She asked her mother, mother, mother,
> For fifty cents, cents, cents,
> To see the elephant, elephant, elephant,
> Jump the fence, fence, fence.
>
> She jumped so high, high, high,
> That it reached the sky, sky, sky,
> And it never came back, back, back,
> 'Til the Fourth of July, -ly, -ly.

When they began handclapping, Ellen skipped some of the lyrics, and Crystal, the older sister, stopped and pointed this out. Crystal then asked me if they should begin again, and they clapped the game in its entirety the second time.

This rhyme is one that can also be traced through many studies. Abrahams (1963) describes two versions of the rhyme, adding that it is a rhyme that has been used for jumping rope, bouncing balls, and counting. The first version is the same as the one that Ellen and Crystal chanted, with the exception of the tag ending that occurs after "Fourth of July,":

> She went home crying, crying, crying,
> She told a lie, lie, lie,
> To her mother. (Abrahams, 1963, p. 6)

Another variation to this rhyme begins with the line about, "fifty cents":

> My father gave me fifty cents,
> To see the elephant jump the fence.
> He jumped so high, he touched the sky,
> He couldn't come back 'til the June or 'ly.
>
> My sister took and cried so hard,
> Cried until December.
> But her father said that was nothing,
> So come on and eat the dinner. (Abrahams, 1963, p. 6)

Notice that this half of the chant is spoken in cut time, compared to the first half. "Mary Mack" is a chant that is commonly referred to as originating in African-American culture by various multicultural music education sources, such as *Shake It to the One That You Love the Best: Play Songs and Lullabies from Black Musical Traditions* (1989), and *Making Connections: Multicultural Music and the National Standards* (1998).

Origins of learning. At the end of the school group's main handclapping session, I asked the participants to explain where or from whom they learned the

handclapping games. John said that he learned everything from Henry. Henry said that he learned the chants from Gina when she was handclapping with Brook. (These were girls from his classroom.) John added that Roger had learned his handclaps from Shelby, a girl in Roger's classroom. However, Roger explained that he learned, "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," from Marissa, a girl in his class, and the others, he learned on his school bus. Sabrina said that she learned, "Mailman, Mailman," from a friend in her old school in California. Ellen offered that she knew chants from her sister, and Crystal said that she had originally learned them from some kids at her former school in Oklahoma. When I asked Vashaun, who had not participated at all during that session, if he knew any handclaps, he was unresponsive. His sister, Sabrina, made it clear that he did not "do" any handclaps at home, although curiously, he had participated in clapping games during previous sessions. It is uncertain, but perhaps, he felt that such activities were not appropriate for his age or for males. Overall, it seemed that the participants had learned the handclapping games from other children in school or from their friends or relatives. In addition, when asking if the participants were aware of handclaps that they had not necessarily performed during the taping session, they admitted to being familiar with nearly all of the chants. This familiarity suggests that handclaps are common, visible activities in African-American homes and neighborhoods.

The nature of the social transmission of these handclaps is similar to other studies regarding the oral transmission of children's music, such as Harwood's (1992) research that focuses on African-American handclapping, possible sources of oral transmission, and the broader significance of children's rhymes, chants, songs, and games. Essentially, research has illuminated that changes in repertoire are due to time

and location; songs and play may transform slightly in text, music, movement, and rules depending upon the time and place in which they are performed. The examples of "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," "Mailman, Mailman," and "Mary Mack," are prime examples of what these changes look like.

Neighborhood Group

Spontaneous games. Handclaps were seen less often amongst the neighborhood study group than with the school group. They were witnessed spontaneously most often when observing the entire group of children at the neighborhood center, rather than the core group. On one occasion, Orchid and Dwayne, ages 11 and 10 years, started a handclapping game, but unfortunately, it ended as soon as it began. They initiated the game by Dwayne holding up his hands. No chants were sung with it. A few seconds after it started, another girl from their age grouping, Jamila, called to Orchid, "I'll do it with you," and Orchid left Dwayne for the group of girls Jamila was with. While Dwayne was standing nearby, another boy in his age group, Joe, came over to him and slapped him on the shoulder sniggering, " You like that stuff?" Again, like Vashaun from the school group who did not participate in handclaps, this exchange indicates that handclapping was either socially inappropriate for Dwayne's age or gender. In the meantime, Orchid had begun a handclap with Jamila. Their game was nearly as brief as the previous one, so the handclap pattern was not discernable. It did include, however, vertical patterns with partner claps, a diagonal pattern across one hand at a time, and double hits with both hands across.

Another spontaneous handclap occurred the following day while observing all the children in the large group setting. Upon my arrival, two girls were engaged in a

handclap while waiting in chairs for their turn at pool. An older White girl, perhaps 10 or 11 years old, was attempting to teach a younger Black girl, maybe five or six, how to do a particular pattern. The overall pattern was: (a) beat one—each child has one hand low and the other high oppositely positioned in order to bring their hands up or down and clap their partner's hands in the middle (vertical movement), then, the partners clap each other's hands across with their palms forward facing each other (horizontal movement); (b) beats two and three—each child claps her own hands together once and claps one hand at a time diagonally across space (horizontal movement); (c) beat four—each child claps her own hands together twice; (d) beat five—the partners clap hands across on the backside of their hands, then on the front side of their hands (horizontal movement). All together, there were 10 separate movements that seemed to make up a 5/4 meter. There was no chant at all with this handclap.

The older girl, Tabitha, was patient when working with the younger girl, Marie, and commented that they could slow down the handclap if the Marie felt it necessary. Tabitha would also stop occasionally and isolate a part of the pattern for Marie if she was having trouble with it. Marie seemed to remember the pattern, but would fill in extra beats at the end of the pattern to make the meter more regular. Marie finally ended the session by losing interest and moving to the coloring book table.

"Mailman, Mailman." As stated previously, "Mailman, Mailman," is widespread through time and place. The slight changes made to the handclap in terms of lyrics or movements illustrate how a particular group may change the text according to its use. On one occasion, I asked Roxanne and Sable, 11 and 12 years old respectively, if they knew any handclap, and they immediately launched into, "Mailman, Mailman,"

pointing out that it was "the oldest one." Notice that these lyrics are slightly different than the ones chanted at the school site:

> Mailman, mailman, do your duty.
> Here comes Miss American Beauty.
>
> She can do the pom, pom, she can do the twist.
> Most of all, she can kiss, kiss, kiss. K-I-S-S!

The second line has been changed from, "Here comes the lady with the African booty." Also different is the neighborhood girls' clapping pattern. The school participants clapped a complex pattern beginning with the partners having one hand positioned low and facing up and the other hand positioned high and facing down. The partners would clap hands by moving up and down once, clap both hands directly across to one another, clap their own hands, clap one hand diagonally across and clap own hands, then clap the other hand diagonally across and clap their own hands. Being in a 7/8 meter that did not match the 4/4 meter of the chant further complicated it. The neighborhood girls, however, only clapped the beginning of this pattern—clap hands up and down with partner, clap both hands across to partner, and clap own hands—resulting in a 3/8 meter that could be clapped much more quickly. Also different was the fact that instead of touching their lips when they said, "kiss, kiss, kiss," they clapped both their hands across to their partner three times.

When interviewing Roxanne, Sable, and Orchid, also 11 years old, regarding handclaps, they admitted that they no longer regularly practiced handclaps. They explained that handclapping was a practice of younger girls, and they had not really been interested in them since they were eight or nine years old. They did not indicate whether or not this was because it would be immature to engage in the activities, but I did notice

that when Roxanne and Sable showed me "Mailman, Mailman," they were very silly and behaving less seriously than they did when they practiced drills or dances. When asked where they learned handclapping games, they specifically listed learning games from their mothers, their mothers' friends, and older sisters at home. Roxanne also commented that she teaches her younger sister games that she knows.

To follow up, I interviewed and videotaped Roxanne's younger sister and three other girls from the center, all six or seven years old, asking them to discuss and demonstrate handclaps. When asked if they knew any handclapping games, they all immediately mentioned, "Mailman, Mailman," although their was some disagreement as to whether the lyrics were, "Mailman, mailman, do your duty," or "Mailman, mailman, where's your duty?" When I asked them to show me the clap, the two Black girls and the two White girls paired up separately to clap. The two Black girls demonstrated the clap first like the older girls had done, although they substituted, "where's your duty," for "do your duty." They used the same clap pattern, but at a much slower pace. The White girls, however, had a different clap pattern in which they clapped both hands directly across to one another, then clapped their own hands creating a 2/4 meter, rather than a 3/8 meter. Notice that the 3/8 meter would be more complicated to use with the chant than the 2/4 meter. They also added the word, "kiss," to the end of the rhyme after spelling it. When I asked all the girls if they knew any other handclaps, they could not readily think of any other. They explained that they had learned the handclap from an "auntie," older girls at school, and a friend.

"Mama's Havin' a Baby." During one meeting with the older group of girls who quickly became the focus of this study, Sable and Afrika, showed me a handclapping

game that I have never before witnessed. No reference to this chant was found in the literature, either. This rhyme seems especially poignant and specific to the creators' environment, whomever they may be. The fact that girls are given "curls" and boys are given "toys" in this rhyme point to gender stereotyping or role-assigning, as has been the case in prior discussions of chants. Perhaps the "curl" indicates the expectation that girls should be beautiful, and the "toy" is a sign of male privilege. In addition, the shocking allowance of twins being "sent down an escalator" may be an indication of the difficulty of pregnancy and child rearing. The handclappers did not themselves give this handclap a name, but I called it "Mama's Havin' a Baby," as it was the first line of the chant:

Mama's havin' a baby,
A big, fat, chocolate baby.

If it's a boy, we'll give it a toy.
If it's a girl, we'll give it a curl.

If it's a twin, we'll wrap it up in toilet paper,
Send it down the escalator.

First floor—stop.
Second floor—stop.
And don't you stop until your hands get hot!

It should be mentioned that the two girls, Sable and Afrika, seemed to be two of the most proficient players in any game specifically focusing on rhythm. They used the same 3/8 clap pattern that Roxanne and Sable had used earlier. What is interesting about this game is that the girls would stop clapping each time they chanted, "stop." Then, they would clap as fast as possible after the last line, until the clapping pattern fell apart due to a mistake. After talking about handclapping games, the girls again commented that they do not really practice handclapping regularly anymore; it was a regular practice when they were younger.

Summary of Handclaps

Both groups of participants did demonstrate knowledge of and skill in the area of handclapping. However, the school children engaged in these practices to a greater extent. In fact, the neighborhood center study group explained that they practiced handclapping more often when they were younger, and no longer engaged in those games. Set handclapping games that the Saguaro School kids knew included: "Miss Suzy Had a Steamboat," "Mailman, Mailman," "Miss Sue from Alabama," and "Mary Mack." They also demonstrated a great deal of improvised handclapping with set clapping patterns, but rhymes that were made up spontaneously. In effect, handclapping patterns were almost separate from chants; they were interchangeable in that participants could choose the rhythmic complexity of clap that they could engage in most successfully. The Ocotillo Neighborhood Center participants also knew "Mailman, Mailman," indicating that it was the "oldest one," and another game they called, "Mama's Havin' a Baby." The chants used by participants at both sites indicate the widespread dispersion of musical play as an oral tradition, as well as the original creation or reincarnation of activities to suit the needs or desires of the participants. As will be discussed later, the difference in the frequency of performance, handclapping is probably a matter of a difference in the ages of the two study groups.

While the older study group of girls did not engage in spontaneous handclapping like the school children did, younger children at the center who were not a part of the core group did demonstrate this practice, often when waiting or whiling away time. Thus, the peak age of children participating in handclapping games could be narrowed to a range of about seven to nine years coinciding with Merrill-Mirsky's (1988) findings.

Contrarily, this study did not correlate well with Harwood's (1992) research that explained, "...there is an easy-to-difficult hierarchy in the games that corresponds to the age of the girls playing them," (p. 24). While the oldest girls did demonstrate the most complicated clap patterns while playing, so did many of the youngest performers. Additionally, some of the most proficient improvisers of handclapping chants were at an intermediate age, but used simplistic clap patterns. These points will be discussed in greater detail in relation to development in the next chapter.

Jump-Rope Games

Although both groups of participants knew jump-rope rhymes and games, neither focus group initiated games with jump ropes until I prompted them to do so. The groups were also constrained by not actually having jump ropes readily available. I had to provide them for the participants. (Jump-rope games can be viewed on the enclosed video compact disc.)

School Group

"Cinderella." During one session, I asked the participants if they knew any jump rope rhymes. They all agreed that they did know some. At this point, Sasha immediately went over to Roger to handclap a rhyme known as, "Cinderella." I asked them if they usually chant this rhyme with handclapping, and Roger explained that it could be used for handclapping or jumping rope. The lyrics to the rhyme were as follows:

> Cinderella, dressed in yella,
> Went upstairs to kiss a fella.
>
> Made a mistake, and kissed a snake.
> How many doctors did it take?

One, two, three, four...
[Participants continue counting until someone makes a mistake.]

Interestingly, the young group of girls that I had worked with at the neighborhood center suggested that they could handclap, "Cinderella," when they were unable to think of any handclapping rhymes, aside from, "Mailman, Mailman," although they pointed out that it was, in fact, a jump-rope rhyme. This rhyme was also recorded among Merrill-Mirsky's (1988) participants and supported by Merrill-Mirsky's reference to Browne's (1959) evidence of the chant.

"Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear." Roger also explained that a rhyme known as, "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear," could be used for handclapping or jumping rope. He chanted the rhyme, but seemed confused as to the order of events in the game. Sasha pointed out his mistakes for him, so he began again:

Teddy bear, teddy bear, do your duty.
[Notice that the first line may actually be part of "Mailman, Mailman."]

Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn around.
Teddy bear, teddy bear, touch the ground.

Teddy bear, teddy bear, go upstairs.
Teddy bear, teddy bear...
[Sasha interjected, "tie your shoes," and Roger replied: "Oh yeah."]

Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn around.
Teddy bear, teddy bear, tie your shoes.

Teddy bear, teddy bear, go upstairs.
Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn off the light.

Teddy bear, teddy bear, go to sleep.

At this point, I was somewhat confused because in the past, I have always heard, "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear," chanted in rhyming couplets. So I asked Roger if the last line was, "go to sleep," because I had heard it as, "say goodnight," which rhymes with "turn out

the light." However, Roger confirmed that he was right and did not show any indication that a rhyme would be appropriate. It is uncertain whether this lack of recognition could be due to a variation in lyrics, in which, "go to sleep," is indeed the appropriate text or a semantic insertion due to developmental lag in rhyming ability. Notice the similarities in text to Abrahams' (1963) version.

Abrahams (1963) recorded this rhyme in conjunction with jump-roping as well. He comments that it is one of the oldest rhymes still in use and has been cited as early as 1898, noting that it is correlated with the nursery rhyme, "Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home," with the text sometimes using a ladybird or lady bug, instead of a teddy bear (Abrahams, 1963, p. 11). In Abrahams (1963) version, the jumpers also move in the manner that the teddy bear is commanded by the chanters:

> Teddy bear, teddy bear, show your shoe, shoe.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, I love you.
>
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, touch the ground, ground, ground.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn all around.
>
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, one and two, two.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, I love you.
>
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn all around.
> Teddy bear teddy bear, touch the ground.
>
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, show your shoe.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, take off your clothes.
>
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, say your prayers.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, go to bed. (p. 12)

Jumping rope together. During another session, I brought jump ropes for the participants to use in the amphitheater of the school courtyard in the hope that the children would actually demonstrate the rhymes and activity together. The jump ropes

were lengthy—the kind made for group use. Henry, John, and Michael worked together in one group with two people turning the rope and one person jumping from inside the rotation of the rope. Sasha, Roger, and Vashaun were working in a separate group in the same configuration, except that the jumper was attempting to come into the rotation from the outside; they did not successfully accomplished this task. Sabrina was sitting by herself on the edge of the activity.

Roger's group began chanting the rhymes that Sasha and Roger had handclapped previously, "Cinderella," and "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear." When playing, "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear," with jump ropes, rather than clapping, performing the movements chanted in the rhyme additionally challenges jumpers. For example, "turn around," is coupled with actually turning while jumping. On the other side of the amphitheater, Henry's group was attempting to jump double-Dutch style, but they did not know how to turn the ropes correctly. They asked for my assistance in turning the ropes, so I did explain and show them the technique; this, however, did not help them to successfully turn the ropes. Sabrina finally joined the groups after this incident, when asked if she was going to play with everyone else. Overall, the children did not seem to be able to successfully manage or desire to jump rope in groups, and they eventually ended up wrapping the long ropes around their hands several times in order to make them short enough to use alone. Henry also decided to play, "Helicopter," with Michael, in which he twirled the rope out in a circle, while Michael jumped over it each time it came around—a much simpler game involving jumping a rope. The lack of consistent coordination and cooperation when playing the jump-rope games seemed to indicate a lack of experience and skill in jumping rope. The fact that the children reverted to more

simplistic games, such as jumping rope alone or playing "helicopter," also supported this notion.

Neighborhood Group

The younger girls. The group of four younger girls, including Roxanne's younger sister, seemed eager to work with jump ropes. They immediately wanted to demonstrate the game, "Cinderella." During this session, one short jump rope made for a single jumper was available at the beginning for them to use. The girls immediately realized that this rope was too short for all of them to share, although the task that I had set before them was to jump as a group. Therefore, they found another single jump rope in order to tie them together and use as a group—a solution that I initiated. When they had the two ropes tied together, it was very difficult for them to get started: most of the girls wanted to jump, instead of turn, the rope, and they did not agree on whether to jump in the rotation from outside the rope or begin from inside the rotation. Roxanne's sister also complained that she could not jump well in a group because it was, "too hard," and most of the girls expressed that they wanted to jump alone, although they distinctly indicated that "Cinderella," was a game to be played as a group. They finally did play the game, and the game was played identically to how the school group played it, with the exception of the beginning. The girls began with someone on the inside of the rotation, and chanted, "One, two, three, and over." On the count, the rope was gently lifted and touched to the jumper's feet, and on, "over," was rotated for the first turn. They also reminded the turners that they wanted the rope turned, "high," "slow," and overhand.

After much arguing—at one point they actually yelled at each other that they were going to "be on T.V. all mad" (referring to the video camera)—and little success in everyone participating as a jumper in the game, they decided to play, "Mousetrap." This game involved jump ropes, but not jumping or chanting. The rope was turned once overhand, and then back underhand by two turners. The goal was for the player to run under the rope without being touched. The game seemed simpler in form, but one girl in particular, who had dominated jumping in, "Cinderella," also did so in, "Mousetrap." She was not more proficient, but was more aggressive by demanding to play and telling the other girls what they were supposed to do. As a result, all of the girls did not participate as players in, "Mousetrap." (The skills required for this game seem related to the school group's game of "Helicopter.")

Following "Mousetrap," the girls decided to play, "Teddy Bear, Teddy, Bear." There was discussion as to the appropriate rules for the game. One girl asked if they had to do the movements related to the chant, and another girl responded that a person should only do the movements, if she could do them without "messing up." Otherwise, it was better to just chant and jump. At the beginning of this game, the turners started with the jumper on the inside, but said, "ready, set, go," instead of, "one, two, three, and over." This change did not help them to begin successfully, so they reverted to the count. All the girls had a chance to play the game this time, however, none of them were proficient enough to complete the chant without missing a jump. At the end, I asked the girls if they could say the chant to me without jumping:

> Teddy bear, teddy bear, turn around.
> Teddy bear, teddy bear, touch the ground.

Teddy bear, teddy bear, tie your shoes.
Teddy bear, teddy bear, how old are you?

One, two, three, four...
[Participants continue counting until someone makes a mistake.]

This chant begins similarly to the school group's version, but changes at the third line, making the game like the end of, "Cinderella."

When I interviewed these girls later about where or from whom they learned the games, they cited older girls at school, friends, a mother, an "auntie," and a P.E. teacher. With the exception of the teacher, these responses were similar to what the older girls had said about the origins of handclapping. All of the girls said that they were familiar with all three games that they had practiced during our jump-rope session. It was especially insightful to hear Roxanne's sister explain that she had never learned the entire chant, "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear," because no one ever successfully jumped beyond the second line. This issue touches on the fact that when practicing, the children often began again at the beginning of a game, when a mistake occurred, rather than continuing on or practicing a specific part, a learning process issue that will be discussed in Chapter Six.

The older girls. The older girls had a session in which they were going to jump rope for the video camera. They began by jumping alone, as the ropes were short, while listening to music on the CD player. When I asked them if they knew any jump-rope games and turned off the music, Giselle immediately chanted, "Cinderella," although she chanted, "Cinderella, dressed in drella," rather than "yella," indicating the color of Cinderella's attire. I asked them if they could show me some group jumping, and they attempted to do this with a single short rope. They began this session with, "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear." They seemed to have problems jumping for extended periods because the

rope was too short, so I mentioned that they could tie ropes together, as I did with the younger girls.

As they tied them together, Giselle asked them if they knew how do, "Chinese" jump rope, indicating with her hands the way to turn for double-Dutch. Sable immediately said that she could, but could only begin from the inside of the ropes. Roxanne was not as sure of how to play the game this way, so Giselle explained how to turn the ropes. The main obstacle the girls encountered when playing was that the two long ropes, each created from two short ropes tied together, kept catching each other at the knots becoming entangled. The girls continued trying when a new girl, an older friend of Sable's from Phoenix, walked into the room. Giselle asked her if she knew how to play the game, and she did. Giselle told her to help Roxanne turn, and the girl took over for Roxanne. Giselle and the girl were turning successfully, and the girl told Sable that she needed to jump into the ropes from the outside, while they were turning. Sable complained that she did not know how to do this, so the girl explained that she needed to come in when the closest rope was high and shouted, "Now!" every time this happened until Sable tried to jump in. Sable tried a few turns, but was not very successful at jumping more than a couple times. Sable then took over turning for her friend, and this girl seemed to have much more practice. While the jumping was going on, Roxanne stood by the video recorder and would begin to chant, "Cinderella," as soon as someone jumped in; the girls who were turning and jumping did not chant anything, but practiced in time with Roxanne's chant. While the girls all seemed to enjoy playing with the jump ropes together, they did not seem proficient at group playing, nor did they indicate at any other time during the research that jumping rope was something that they regularly

practiced. In addition, neither rhyme was chanted in its entirety, so it is unknown whether these lyrics were similar or different to other versions.

Summary of Jump-Rope Games

Both groups of participants knew the jump-rope games with rhymes called, "Cinderella," and "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear," although like the school group's handclapping rhyme, "Mailman, Mailman," some of the lyrics were slightly different. While both groups seemed to be excited to use jump ropes and enjoy the time spent jump roping, neither group showed exceptional skill or knowledge of the practice, nor did they express interest in continuing the games on other occasions. Compared to handclapping, the children who participated in jump-rope games did not consistently remember the lyrics to the chants and did not always agree to the procedures for playing a game. The lack of demonstrated jump-rope practice among this study's participants is a departure from Abrahams (1966), Rosenstiel's (1977), and Gaunt's (1995, 1997, 1998) findings, however, not an unexpected one, if the time of research is considered.

Drills

Although not discussed at length in the literature review, drills were a common activity amongst the neighborhood center girls. These were not demonstrated at all by the children at the school site. Upon first sight and hearing, drills seemed to be cheers, in that they were coordinated chants and movements, or they could have been confused with dances, as they were very rhythmic and included popular dance moves. However, drills were not constructed to provide motivation for any sort of team, and they did not have background music or singing associated with them. The girls performing them also

designated them as "drills," rather than cheers or dances. In fact, when asked, the girls distinguished cheers from drills saying that cheers were more acrobatic, but included less rhythmic hand and foot movements. (Drills can be viewed on the enclosed compact disc.)

"Hey Potsy!"

The first and probably most largely coordinated drill that I witnessed was one called, "Hey, Potsy!" There was no one actually named, "Potsy," at the neighborhood center, but after much discussion among the girls in the center, it was determined that this was the actual name of the drill. My first experience with this drill occurred with a group of girls who did not all eventually become part of the lasting core group, but began practicing this drill as something for them to play during their free-choice time. Seven girls, ages nine to twelve years, participated in this session, including African Americans, European Americans, and Mexican Americans. The drill began with six girls standing in a sort of parallelogram shape so that each girl could be seen facing one girl who is in front. The group chants something to the front girl who, in turn, chants back a response. When the entire group gets to the refrain, they dance the movement in question during the verse. It should be noted that, "Potsy," was substituted with the name of whoever the front girl was for that session:

[Participants are standing in place for verse.]
[Group] Hey, Potsy!
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the criss-cross.
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the...
[Participants criss-cross legs in and out like scissors for refrain.]
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick,
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick.

[Participants are standing in place for verse.]
[Group] Hey, Potsy!
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the butterfly.
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the...
[Participants walk heels in together with a sliding motion for refrain.]
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick,
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick.

[Participants are standing in place for verse.]
[Group] Hey, Potsy!
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the cabbage patch.
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the...
[Participants put fists together in front of body and circle slowly for refrain.]
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick,
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick.

[Participants are standing in place for verse.]
[Group] Hey, Potsy!
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the percolator.
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the...
[Participants hop/step one foot at a time in front, then in back for refrain.]
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick,
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick.

[Participants are standing in place for the verse.]
[Group] Hey, Potsy!
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the pop.
[Potsy] Yeah?
[Group] Let me see you do the...
[Participants do quick hip flicks and stops for the refrain.]
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick,
[Everyone] Boom boom tick tick da boom tick.

The original creator of the framework for "Hey, Potsy!" seemed to be Sable who collaborated with Afrika and Orchid, the choreographers of the dance movements. However, Afrika and Orchid had a different order of dance movements, and thus verses,

and hurried through the drill when asked to perform it. They only practiced this drill when asked. The first time Afrika chanted the drill, she only included four verses and chanted the dance movements in a different order without actually doing the movements: criss-cross, twist (not included in the large group performance), percolator, and cabbage patch. I was finally able to videotape this drill performed by Ebony. When taped, she included six verses in the following order: criss-cross, butterfly, cabbage patch, percolator, pop, and criss-cross (again). When asked where and from whom she learned, "Hey, Potsy!", she said that she did not remember. She knew that she had learned it from her friends on the playground at school because she said that when she was in the fourth grade, she and her friends did drills "all the time." When she performed the drill for the camera, she did so alone, and was not as active in her performance as the large group of girls, who made it into a sort of performance.

"Stomp That Gas!"

The first time I saw, "Stomp That Gas," Orchid and Afrika slipped into the drill after they had been playing, "Hey, Potsy!" "Stomp That Gas," is a simpler drill in terms of coordinated movements among participants, but is more technical in terms of individual dance improvisation. The group movements are merely a stomp on the first beat of each line of lyrics with individual improvisational dance movements after the dancer's name is chanted:

[Everyone] Stomp that gas, mm-hmm.
[Everyone] Smash it on back, mm-hmm.
[Everyone] Come on back, mm-hmm.
[Everyone] And let (Sable) take control.

[Everyone] Said, oo-ah-oo,
[Dancer] Don't it look so good?
[Everyone] Said, oo-ah-oo.

[Dancer] Too bad baby can't have none.
[Everyone] Said, oo-ah-oo.
[Dancer] Too bad baby can't have none.

This drill was rarely witnessed, and when it was, it was done hastily without all the participants remembering the sequence or the lyrics. Orchid seemed to be most familiar with it, and the focus group only performed it upon my request. In addition, the girls did not name the drill, "Stomp That Gas," but recognized it when I called it by that name (after the first line of the chant).

Interestingly, this drill may be related to one that Harwood (1998) recorded amongst girls in Illinois, called, "Jump in the Car." Harwood (1998) discussed the drill in reference to games with improvised movements in which participants encouraged solo dancers to dance though their lyrics:

Jump in the car.
Step on the gas.
Move out the way,
And let (Myra) pass.

Oo-ah, look at that beauty.
Oo-ah, ain't she a cutie.
Oo-ah, know you want her.
Oo-ah, ain't gonna get her. (p. 119)

The relationship between the two drills is in the content of the text, the set-versus-improvised structure of the drill, and the encouraging context of the performance. Moreover, the sexual availability and beauty of the girl being focused on is distinct in the lyrics, as is the denial of that sexuality at the end of the chants.

"You Want to Be Like Us"

When performing a sequence of drills, Afrika, Orchid, and Roxanne played one they called, "You Want to Be Like Us." Sable and Orchid later performed this drill for

the video camera. When discussing the origins of the drill, the girls explained that two former neighborhood center workers had taught it to them. The overall feeling of "You Want to Be Like Us" was one of attitude and self-confidence. This feeling was not only supported by the fact that the girls could successfully manage such a technical drill, but also by the girls exclaiming, "Ooo!", as if impressed when a group performed it well.

The drill was technical in terms of foot patterns, as it was quite rhythmic with varied accents, but simple in terms of the amount of lyrics. The drill was performed in two-measure phrases of common time with accents that made it feel like a compound meter: two measures of 3/8, one measure of 2/8, and one measure of 4/4. The following notation consists of two-measure phrases in 4/4 time for each line of movement and chant, with the exception of the last line that is made up of four measures; the entire drill is 12 measures in length. "R" denotes the right foot, and "L" stands for the left foot:

```
                    >     >     >   >
[Stomp pattern—R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R]   You      [slide right]

                    >     >     >   >
[Stomp pattern—R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R]   want     [slide forward]

                    >     >     >   >
[Stomp pattern—R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R]   to be    [slide left]

                    >     >     >   >
[Stomp pattern—R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R]   like us.  [slide backward]

                    >     >     >   >     >     >
[Stomp pattern—R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/
                    >     >     >   >     >     >   >
                    R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R-L-R/ L-R-L/ R-L/ R]
```

"Smooth as Butter" and "Huh!"

Afrika, Orchid, Roxanne, and Sable demonstrated another drill that they called, "Smooth as Butter." When observing them, I noticed that they called one portion of the

drill by this name, and one part by the name of "Huh!". When I asked them about the difference between the two halves, they explained that what they were doing was actually two separate drills, but that you could hook drills together to form a longer drill. This was the only noticeable drill combination that I witnessed.

What was especially interesting about this combination is that "Smooth as Butter," seemed to be an introduction to the group of participants. It was also less rhythmic in movement and stomps, but had larger movements and lyrics like a cheer might have. However, the follow-up drill, "Huh!", was similar to the past drills with an emphasis on clapping and stomping and the only lyric being, "Huh!". The group encountered problems with the sequence when they came to "Huh!". The girls informed me that the two workers who had taught them "You Want to Be Like Us," also taught them "Smooth as Butter," and "Huh!". The following notation is incomplete, as the girls did not completely remember or agree on the entire sequence of the drills:

Attention! [R stomp]
Attention! [R stomp]
Jump to attention! [R stomp, L stomp]
Trip to attention! [R stomp, L stomp, R stomp]
At ease. [L stomp twice to knee bend]
Knee rest.
[R knee touches floor; L elbow touches L knee; chin rests on fist]
Attention.
Hold up, wait a minute, let me see you slide with it!
[Slide L leg straight up to stand]

Who are we? Smooth. [L foot steps L and R leg slides; R stomp, L stomp]
As what? As butter. [R foot steps R and L leg slides; L stomp, R stomp]
Who are we? Smooth. [L foot steps L and R leg slides; R stomp, L stomp]
As what? As butter. [R foot steps R and L leg slides; L stomp, R stomp]
Huh! Ready?

Huh!
[One foot in front of the other stomping lightly in steady, repeating eighth notes for two measures of 4/4 time; pull fists in or angle arms out on first beat, then syncopated clap pattern of eighth note, quarter note, quarter note, beginning on the second half of the third beat of the first measure]

Huh!
[One foot in front of the other stomping lightly in steady, repeating eighth notes for two measures of 4/4 time; pull fists in or angle arms out on first beat, then syncopated clap pattern of eighth note, quarter note, quarter note, beginning on the second half of the third beat of the first measure]

One, two, three, ah.
[Step forward on count; clap hands high, middle, or low on "ah"]
One, two, three, ah.
[Step backward on count; clap hands high, middle, or low on "ah"]
One, two, three, ah
[Step forward on count; clap hands high, middle, or low on "ah"]
Smooth as butter.
[Hands are together as if in prayer and smoothly wave back and forth from above head to waist level as if spreading butter]
[Repeat the entire sequence of "Huh!"]
[Finish with a clap and stomp pattern that was not collectively remembered]

"Ride That Horsey"

Sable and a friend who did not attend the neighborhood center created the drill called, "Ride That Horsey." Although Sable did not call this drill by this name, I designated it thus based on its scant lyrics. When Sable demonstrated this drill, she never performed it in the same way. There were always triplet clap patterns playing off of stomps and the lyrics, "ride," "ride that horsey," and "I want to ride," as well as "huh," but the sequence of movements, the clap and stomp combinations, and the lyrics were improvised within its framework.

Unnamed Drill and Unnamed Drill Variation

Another unnamed drill known by Sable, Afrika, and Afrika's ten-year-old brother was performed on various occasions, although never exactly in the same way.

This drill was unique in that it always began with a count of, "five, six, seven, eight," and it did not have any lyrics. The drill incorporated similar triplet clap patterns and stomps to, "Ride That Horsey," but it differed in that it was based on a repeating cycle of tempo beginning slowly and speeding up, then returning to the original tempo.

Africa's brother did not practice a second part or variation of the first drill, but the two girls knew it well. It included a quick foot pattern with the hands touching the heels as they were crossed in back of the legs. The focus here was on the feet with stomps marking accents, rather than the sounds of clapping. When I asked the girls and Afrika's brother the names of these drills, they said that they had no names, but emphasized that they were "just" drills.

Summary of Drills

Drills were an area of musical practice that the Saguaro participants did not engage in at all. However, the Ocotillo focus group had wide-ranging skill and understanding of drills, including knowledge of the characteristics of drills and a repertory of complex set pieces. Drills that the girls demonstrated for the study included: "Hey, Potsy!", "Stomp That Gas!", "You Want to Be Like Us," "Smooth as Butter," "Huh!", "Ride That Horsey," and two unnamed drills. The drills from this study are characteristically similar to the "cheers, drill teams, and routines" discussed in Harwood (1998, p. 117). The oldest girls at the Ocotillo center, ages 11-12, knew drills, but they explained that they practiced them more often during the previous year and earlier. Harwood (1998) similarly found, "More advanced players and older girls of various ability generally abandon performance of traditional genres, such as handclaps and ring games in favor of genres known variously as cheers, drill teams, and routines," (p. 117).

The motivation for engaging in drills at an older age, rather than handclaps, is unclear. However, it seems important that the drills, more often than the handclaps, served as venues for self-expression in terms of identity and were more similar in form to dances, which were regularly practiced by the oldest girls at the center.

Songs

The participants' collective repertoire of songs included the chants and rhymes used for playing games, short songs learned at school, gospel choir songs learned at church, and pop, rap, and hip-hop songs popularized by the media. However, the majority of the song literature in which children in both groups were familiar was rap and hip-hop that they had learned by listening and watching music television, CDs, and the radio. (Songs can be viewed on the enclosed video compact disc.)

Game Chants

Although game chants may not meet the melodic criteria to be considered songs, it should be mentioned here that when children at the school site were asked whether they knew any songs, they listed chants, such as "Cinderella," and "Mary Mack." Ellen also cited, "Pat-a-Cake," as a song she knew. She did not, however, "sing" this rhyme, as the boys in the group began laughing when she mentioned it. The participants did not seem to indicate any knowledge of chants and rhymes differing in any way from songs.

School Songs

The incidence of children singing songs from school at either site was negligible. A young girl, about six years-of-age, at the neighborhood center did happen to sing for me, though. She was not a girl from the focus group, but happened to be sitting near me

one day talking about her music teacher. I asked her if she knew any songs, to which she replied they sang, "Mary Had a Little *Land*," and "This Land Is Your Land." She also began singing a song to the tune of, "Bingo":

> En JieEm EeOh,
> En JieEm EeOh,
> En JieEm EeOh,
> And Angel was my name-o.

She stomped for the first two vocables and clapped for the last three. As another girl strolled over, the singer changed her vocables to:

> I Jo EnJee Oh,
> I Jo EnJee Oh,
> I Jo EnJee Oh,
> And ***** was his name-o.

I did not understand whose name she sang on the last name, and she explained that it could be the name of anyone who was playing the game. The changes this girl made to "Bingo," and "Mary Had a Little Lamb," are reminiscent of Merrill-Mirsky's (1988) comment about changes in words often occurring through simple misunderstandings. She explains, "A line in 'Dr. Pepper' goes: 'It's the original taste that I love so.' Second-grade girls at King sang it this way: 'It's the rithamataste that I love so,'" (Merrill-Mirsky, 1988, p. 213). The changes could become a lasting part of a new incarnation of a song or chant that has little to do with where and when the context of the game is.

At the school site, many of the children knew a version of the song, "Head and Shoulders," that they had learned either in preschool or kindergarten. The children had learned another version in music class that year, but it was quite different, apart from the movements being reflected in the lyrics; the children touched whatever part of their body they sung. Roger led the song:

Head and shoulders, knees and toes, knees and toes.
Head and shoulders, knees and toes, knees and toes.
Eyes and ears and mouth and nose.
Head and shoulders, knees and toes, knees and toes.

Aside from these isolated occasions, traditional play songs or songs learned at school were not evidenced.

Gospel Songs

At the neighborhood center, Afrika and Orchid had mentioned being part of the same church choir. This was a youth choir taught at a local church that was open to the public. In other words, singers did not have to attend the church in order to be part of the group, which practiced on evenings that church services were not held. Both Afrika and Orchid became involved with the choir because a mutual adult friend had told them about it. Afrika's younger brother, Dwayne, also participated in the choir. When asked, the girls readily sung two of the choir songs. The first song, "You Are the Only One," was one in which Afrika sang solo for the choir. After she sang this at a slow tempo, Orchid joined in for another version of it at a quicker pace that included lead and back-up parts. The songs were sung in a typical Black gospel style with syncopated clapping, melodic ornamentation, and call-and-response forms, and Afrika, especially, showed talent for this singing style.

Then, Afrika and Orchid sang the second song, "We Want to Lead Them to Jesus," which was normally sung by Dwayne as the soloist. The girls indicated that they enjoyed singing with the choir, but they did not have much practice at performing in public. Apparently, the last time the choir had performed, the community sponsors of the event had given attendees steak dinners, while the choir members ate hot dogs. They also mentioned that the event did not have a large enough audience and the choir was not

treated with enough respect, providing reason for the lack of public performances since then. Overall, the choir seemed to be an activity that the girls enjoyed and participated in regularly.

Rap, Pop, and Hip-Hop

Participants at both research sites were extremely familiar with music popularized by the media. Even the youngest six-year-old children could list names of songs, artists, and CD titles, sing or lip-sync the lyrics of some of their favorite songs, and describe what happened in music videos on television. They knew what artists looked like, could identify compact discs by the cover, and were cognizant of the "worldliness" of the attire, behavior, and lyrics of some of the popular artists. When asked who some of their favorite music groups were, the school kids mentioned Brittney Spears, Lil' Romeo, Usher, Ludachris, Destiny's Child, Nelly, Mýa, Ja Rule, and Eminem. Participants at the neighborhood site included many of the same artists among their favorites: Destiny's Child, Nelly, Ja Rule, Mýa, Brittney Spears, Lil' Bow Wow, Lil' Romeo, Snoop Dogg, Dr. Dre, Michael Jackson, Christina Aguilera, Samantha Mumba, and Aleah. Interestingly, the boys at both sites were prone to mention male rappers, like Nelly, Ja Rule, Lil' Bow Wow, Lil' Romeo, Snoop Dogg, and Dr. Dre, as their favorites. The young girls at both sites always mentioned Brittney Spears as their foremost favorite, although curiously, Roxanne's little sister pointed out that she did not like Spears anymore because she wore very short shorts for a particular video and acted like a "hoochy mama," a term of distaste among all the neighborhood girls that indicated sexual promiscuity. The older girls at the neighborhood center requested Destiny's Child, Mýa, Ja Rule, and Nelly most often. These four artists are distinct from one another in that

Destiny's Child and Mýa are female singers with a hip-hop club style, while Ja Rule and Nelly are male rappers. The occasions in which the children engaged in singing related to popular music cannot easily be discussed without also discussing dance. Thus, more information will be given in that section.

Summary of Songs

The area of songs considered for this study is broad, including any chanted or sung voice-productions with some sort of recognizable form or melody, not used strictly for the purposes of communication, as in the case of talking. This category is not constrained to the accepted Western notion of song form (i.e., ternary A-B-A), nor is it necessarily defined as a composition for solo voice. With this in mind, participants knew a variety of game chants for handclapping, jump roping, and drills; they knew songs specifically taught as songs at school and church; and the children had an extensive repertoire of rap and hip-hop songs popular at the time of the study. While the participants in this research did not readily demonstrate songs such as those cited by Jones & Lomax-Hawes (1972), chanting or singing along with handclapping games, drills, and dances is supported by past literature (Abrahams, 1966; Brady, 1975; Eckherdt, 1975; Harwood, 1992, 1993, 1998; Merrill-Mersky, 1988; Riddell, 1990).

Dances

Both groups of children were aware of and demonstrated dance movements witnessed on television and in movies. For example, children from the school site spent one session listening to popular music of their choice, and imitated the "Sea Walk," learned from watching MTV; the "Moonwalk," a different version than Michael

Jackson's that was seen on the movie, *The Black Knight*; and the "Worm," demonstrated on the World Wide Wrestling Federation's television program. The children were not only able to call these dances by name, but also knew where they had learned them. Obviously, television and movies play a large role in the lives of the children.

Only the neighborhood center group, specifically the older girls, though, coordinated their efforts to create set dance pieces. The media did influence these dances, as they would discuss movements seen on music videos, television programs, and movies, but the participants used the movements to create original dance works for particular songs of their choice. These dances quickly focused on five American musical artists: Destiny's Child, Mýa, Samantha Mumba, Ja Rule, and Nelly. The first three artists are Black women whose music is a mix of soul, rhythm & blues, and hip-hop. While it includes rapping to a certain extent, the music is more lyrical. Ja Rule and Nelly are Black males whose music includes more straightforward rapping, although their music also sounds very soulful. Both groups overlap each other in genre, but are distinguishable from one another.

Of these five artists, only one album title from each was used for dances, although several tracks from these compact discs were used. *The Writing's on the Wall* by Destiny's Child (produced by Sony Music Entertainment Inc., 1999) was very popular, and the following songs were the basis for several dance routines: track number 3: "Bills, Bills, Bills," track number 5: "Bug a Boo," track number 11: "Jumpin, Jumpin," and track number 12: "Say My Name." Mýa's *Fear of Flying* (produced by Interscope Records, 2000) also included several well-liked tracks: track number 2: "Case of the Ex," track number 3: "Free," and track number 9: "The Best of Me" (featuring Jadakiss).

Most recent at the time of study was Samantha Mumba's *Gotta Tell You* (produced by A & M Records, 2001). Possibly because the CD was fairly new, only one selection was used by the dancers: track number 2: "Baby, Come Over."

Although fewer in number, the selections from the male artists were also popular. Ja Rule's album, *Rule 3:36* (produced by Murder Inc. Records, 2000), had two tracks that formed the basis of dances: track number 3: "Between Me and You" (featuring Christina Milian) and track number 4: "Put It On Me" (featuring Vita). Nelly's album, *Country Grammar* (produced by Universal Records, 2000), was selected for track number 7: "Take a Ride Wit' Me" (featuring City Spud).

These dances were coordinated in a style similar to what one might see on a music video. The girls would generally face me or face the camera, as if facing an audience, and arrange themselves so that all the girls could be seen (e.g., in a horizontal line or zigzag pattern). The dance movements were very closely related to the lyrics of the song. For example, the girls would pretend to shoot a basketball into a hoop when the word, "baller," was sung (referring to a professional basketball player), bounce when the words, "bounce, baby, bounce, b-bounce, b-bounce, bounce," came on, and pretend to talk on a telephone, when the lyrics were, "call me on the phone." The girls actually explained that if they did not know the lyrics to a song, it was much more difficult to create a dance. (Lyrics for the songs included in this study can be found in the Appendix.) For movements occurring during lyrics that were not easily mimed, a stock set of dance movements were drawn from, such as moving between the balls of each foot in a bouncing manner or walking to the beat backwards or forwards.

When the girls were practicing a new dance, they usually began with everyone participating right from the start of the song. They would dance as long as they could without the dance falling apart due to individuals not knowing dance movements or lyrics. When breakdowns occurred, they would simply start the music on the CD player over again from the beginning of the song. Starting over might happen a dozen or more times for a single practice of one dance. If one person in particular was having problems, another girl would often model the dance without the music playing, while singing or chanting the song in or out of the tempo. The person who was having trouble would next try it with the girl who was demonstrating. Then, they would begin the music again. If the breakdown happened because the girls were not familiar enough with a song, or they were trying to create movements to a song that had not previously been used for a dance, the girls would try out different movements with each other with the CD off, again singing as they tried the movements. At this point, they would also discuss and negotiate what movements they would include and how to utilize them. When they had a portion of the dance synchronized, they would play the music and dance along, until the next breakdown occurred.

A frequently practiced dance, "Jumpin', Jumpin'," sung by Destiny's Child, illustrates some of these characteristics of practice and reveals the roles that the girls played within the group. During one particular session, Sable was called upon to demonstrate the dance, as she remembered all of the movements and could perform them well. The remaining members of the study group were going to observe her do the dance in its entirety. However, Giselle yelled out that she knew the dance and also wanted to demonstrate. She stood up with Sable and began to dance, but it quickly became

apparent that she was mainly copying Sable's moves, rather than moving from her own memory of them. As the dance continued, I became aware of another dancer, Tazha. She was not immediately apparent because she was dancing alone by herself in the back of the room. She did not know all of the movements, so she was watching Sable while she danced. Finally, the remaining girls, Roxanne and Rochelle, were seated or standing in front of Sable and Giselle watching the sequence of movements and monitoring the recorded music. All of the participants, despite the nature of their involvement, lip-synched or sung the lyrics with the recorded music. In this particular session, Sable acted as the leader; she had the skill and knowledge needed to lead the group and readily modeled what she knew. Giselle participated actively by dancing while observing and positioning herself as a model. Tazha also danced while observing, but isolated herself while doing so. Roxanne and Rochelle participated in the activity through observation and marginal support only, though without their observation, no activity would have taken place. (The dances recorded at the neighborhood center can be seen on the enclosed video compact disc and will be discussed again in Chapter Six.)

In an attempt to understand the processes of creating a dance, I asked the girls if they would like to make a music video in which they would use the video camera and film an original music video of their own. The girls were very eager to start the project, and we began meeting immediately to plan. Giselle, although not an expert in any of the musical activities thus far and the only non-African American in the group, assumed leadership of the group. She began by explaining why the girls were "chosen" to participate in the project, such as "You follow directions well," and "You're a good dancer." This explanation baffled me, as I put the offer to all the girls in the core group,

and no participation limitations were mentioned. Then, the girls discussed what the video would be "about" (i.e., the story). The storyline seemed to take precedence over all other aspects. It began with a group of girls walking across a basketball court to a school and ended with the girls singing inside a classroom. The close of the video occurred with a teacher poking her head inside the room to see if the girls were studying and the girls appearing sheepish because they had been singing and dancing behind the closed door. The girls agreed that Afrika would be in charge of the camera and Sable would compose the song for the basis of the video. The music itself seemed of little importance compared to the story and the "look" of the video, especially in terms of what the girls would wear. The girls also did not discuss dance movements at any time. After a couple meetings in which the girls brainstormed ideas for the video, the project fell apart. The motivation for the project seemed to evaporate, and the direction for how to proceed did not seem to be present. I was left wondering if the project was so far a field from the group's usual activities that they did not have the wherewithal to succeed.

Summary of Dances

Children at both sites showed a mature awareness of popular music in the media, specifically rap and hip-hop music. This consciousness came from listening to the music on the radio, purchasing and using compact discs, and watching music videos, music television, and programs or commercials with music artists. A byproduct of the knowledge was skill in and understanding of popular dance movements and forms. While the school participants did not seem to reach the level of complete dance pieces in terms of an entire song, they did show singular dance movements, such as the "Sea Walk," "Moon Walk," and "Worm." The neighborhood center focal group, however,

showed exceptional ability to create and perform dances similar to what might be seen on a music video. These dances had forms based upon understandings of text, movement, music, and popular culture (e.g., fashion, relationships, crises in life). It also seems important to point out that the ten dances demonstrated by these girls were performed mainly to music recorded by Black female artists, with only three dances accompanied by songs from Black male artists.

The influence of the media has been noted by several researchers, including Gaunt (1995), Harwood (1998), and Riddell (1990). In fact, Riddell (1990) states of her own doctoral work:

> The point is that children do not live in isolation from adults and from the world's events. They watch television, listen to disc jockeys on the radio, they overhear adult conversation, and they attune themselves to teen-age and adult conversation and dance styles by watching, even studying, movies and videos...In my opinion the strongest outside influence upon the Leapwood repertoire has been the media, and the weakest has been the musical education shaped by adults. (p. 387)

Gaunt (1995) goes on to point out that girls may use hip-hop music as a vehicle for expression and as a tool to construct and reconstruct femininity and womanhood, possibly clarifying the Ocotillo focus group's preference for Black female artists.

Summary

The purpose of Chapter Five was to relate the musical activities that participants engaged in. These activities included handclaps, jump-rope games, drills, songs, and dances. Some of these activities were shared between sites, such as handclapping, singing, jumping rope, and dancing, and others were site-specific, such as drills and choreographed dances. It seems that this specificity was also age-related, as handclaps, drills, and dances were practiced regularly by participants of specific ages. From the

content of these activities, one can begin to describe and understand the processes of musical learning used by these children. The goal of Chapter Six is to distill the information from Chapter Five in order to interpret the learning processes of participants; this final chapter will be a discussion of the whole of the study and its relevance to future research.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

The purpose of Chapter Six is to address the central issues of this study, discuss the results on African-American children's musical activities reported in Chapter Five in terms of the theoretical and empirical literature from Chapter Two, review any theoretical and practical implications indicated by the conclusions, and offer suggestions for future research. Referring back to Chapter One, the primary question of this research was: what are the processes of learning music that African-American children exhibit when interacting outside of an adult-guided, instructional context? This global question took into consideration the types of musical activities or genres of music in which the participants engaged and the specific ways of learning music exhibited by the children. Additionally, having two groups of participants from different settings with varied relationships with one another was a fruitful point of comparison as the social organization of the groups significantly affected the music learning processes. Chapter Five resulted in a description of five main areas of musical activities: handclaps, jump-rope games, drills, songs, and dances. The following section will discuss issues related to music learning processes as they apply to the aforementioned categories of music making. The other two sections of this chapter will briefly discuss the implications of the study for music education and recommendations for future research.

Music Learning Processes

This portion on music learning processes is comprised of information regarding: (a) learning through participation, (b) participants and group structure, (c) expertise and interest, (d) valued skills and knowledge, (e) purposes and motivation, (f) issues of identity, power, and sexuality, and (g) developmental sequences of learning. A discussion of implications for practice and recommendations for future research will follow this segment.

Learning by Doing: The Participatory Nature of Music Making

An important characteristic of learning that was salient at both research sites was the need to participate in order to learn and keep the musical activity alive; participants were *motivated* to participate so that they could contribute to the overall activity and grow as an individual. It was very rare that any child did not participate with his or her group. At the Saguaro site, for instance, when learning a drum rhythm initiated by Vashaun, no verbal directives or explanations were given, even for children who came in after the group had begun practicing. The rhythm was merely played repeatedly until the members grew tired of playing; a child had to *do* the rhythm in order to learn it. Similarly, at the Ocotillo site, a didactic, traditional teaching situation was never present. If someone needed or desired to learn a drill, for example, she had to practice it. Learning by doing is consistent with Addo's (1997) work with Ghanaian children's singing games in which, "knowledge grows when everyone is involved," (p. 21), and "learning was accomplished by doing," (p. 22). Experiential learning is also at the crux of the sociocultural theories of Vygotsky (1978, 1997), Rogoff (1990, 2003), and Lave and Wenger (1991) that were discussed in Chapter Two.

There were occasions in this project when a participant would observe another child model an activity, but this was in the course of participating in a larger sense. Thus, there were varied arenas of interaction. Experts of the group would often demonstrate or model a skill or musical piece, either at the start of the practice of the piece or at the request of another member, when a breakdown might have occurred. Usually, less proficient participants would still engage in the musical activity to the same extent as the experts, but would support their practice by watching others in the group as needed while practicing side-by-side, practicing with another member of the group who was closer in skill level, or practicing alone away from the group. Modeling and observation were key to learning, as was being actively engaged in the musical activity and responsible for one's own learning. These particular aspects combined to make the nature of an individual's participation unique, but consistently active within the community of practitioners. This framework for learning exemplifies the concept of legitimate peripheral participation defined by Lave and Wenger (1991), "learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and...the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward *full participation* [italics added] in the sociocultural practices of a community," (p. 29).

A prime example of the varied levels of participation among the school participants was during Henry's improvised story handclap detailed in Chapter Five. The three boys who were present for this session—Henry, John, and Roger—participated in the activity in different ways. Henry acted as the leader or expert because he initiated the handclap, physically participated in the handclap, created the chanted story-rhyme that went with the handclap, and was the principal chanter. He was the most centrally

involved participant and spent a great deal of time and effort on the construction of a lengthy story-rhyme, as he affirmed by stating, "It's hard!" John was secondarily involved, as he was also physically engaged in handclapping, but did not improvise the entirety of the chant, nor did he chant along regularly. He did, however, interject occasional lyrics that added to the overall performance of the activity. For instance, he chanted, "Henry is the queen, queen, queen," as a teasing, humorous rebuttal to Henry's original line, "Henry is the prince, prince, prince." Roger was minimally involved, but did still participate. He did not engage in handclapping or chanting, but did observe John and Henry, interject ideas verbally, and was involved in the improvisation through the verbal commentary of Henry and John. When Henry and John cooperatively decided that John would be "the lawyer," in the chant, Roger pointed out that *he* wanted to be the lawyer. To which, John responded that Roger would be the "trash boy," inciting conflict and fun in the performance.

In this instance, the three boys were engaged in a microcosmic version of Lave and Wenger's (1991) "community of practice," the actual community being African-American children, and in a larger sense, the African-American adult society. They were all participating in the handclap, but in various ways, with Henry being the only child participating fully. John and Roger were both participating peripherally to various degrees. Lave and Wenger argue that legitimate peripheral participation, such as what John and Roger demonstrated, is not participation that is irrelevant or unrelated, but that it allows for access to sources of learning by being involved (1991, p. 37).

The neighborhood center participants also regularly interacted during any musical activity, and the nature of their involvement differed. Referring back to the downtown

girls' dance practice of, "Jumpin', Jumpin'," the girls were involved to varying degrees and the nature of their involvement was different from one another. (See pages 142-143 in Chapter Five for this example.) In this example, Sable led the group by modeling the dance completely, as well as lip-synching all the words to the song. Giselle also danced and lip-synched while standing as a model for the group, but did not have all the skills and knowledge needed to do this fully. Tazha danced and lip-synched to approximately the same degree as Giselle, but knew seemed to know her limitations or perhaps social standing, and thus, isolated herself from the group to practice. Roxanne and Rochelle watched, lip-synched along, and monitored the recorded music, replaying the song as needed. Again, like the handclapping example, the dance was a musical activity that engaged participants in different ways. It also illustrates Lave and Wenger's (1991) ideas of legitimate peripheral participation, however, it offers even more detail that is related to Rogoff's (1990) description of development as apprenticeship. Rogoff (1990) explains that looking at development as apprenticeship allows for attention to be focused on the active role of children in how they organize their own development (p. 39). *Novices and experts work together in shared problem solving.*

Participating through varied arenas of interaction is common in participatory music traditions. Turino (1993) explains in his discussion of panpipe playing in Conima, Peru, that musical performance is a "collective activity," (p. 58), within which individuals participate in different ways. The *guía* is seen as a sort of guide or leader of the ensemble who is skilled at performing, composing, initiating playing, and knowing the repertory, among other things. Because a variety of instruments exist in Aymara villages, the *guía* is not always the same person and will change depending upon musical expertise and

interest and the instrument required for a particular festival (p. 60). In addition to the *guía*, there are "core" players who are dedicated performers also demonstrating technical skill, knowledge of the repertoire, and compositional abilities (p. 61). The "ad hoc" players are those individuals who only participate occasionally, such as during a fiesta, who add "volume and spirit" to a performance, but may not have the skill or knowledge that the core players possess (p. 63). There also exists a blurred division between the audience and performers because the audience interacts in the activity at hand; audience members participate through dancing, singing, and contributing to the overall intensity of the performance (pp. 65-66). Furthermore, the Aymara learn in the ways common to an oral tradition: by watching, listening, and doing (Turino, 1993). This description is one that is similar to the examples above in that the theoretical notions of Lave and Wenger's (1991) legitimate peripheral participation and Rogoff's (1990) apprenticeship fit well. It further supports the idea that music may be a practice that is cross-culturally demonstrative of learning in such ways.

Being active in the learning process is, in large part, the basis for sociocultural learning theories. There are differing ways of describing the nature of this activity, such as Vygotsky (1978, 1997) arguing that individuals develop cognitively in a cumulative manner based upon their engagement in experiences, Rogoff (1990, 1995, 1997, 2003) advocating that participation in learning is a transformation of the individual, or Lave and Wenger (1991) stating that learners always contribute to their communities while moving from peripheral to focal activities.

In addition to Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of legitimate peripheral participation, Vygotsky's notion of intersubjectivity seems especially relevant for

describing the process of learning during the handclap at the school site discussed earlier. In this case, the creation of the handclap was an effort that involved Henry, John, and Roger. While Henry seemed to lead the charge, he would not have been able to complete the task at hand without the support of John and Roger, who offered handclapping skill, occasional chanting, ideas, and mood. All three boys held different understandings when they came to the "problem-solving" exchange and cooperated to complete the task. Henry, as the leader, was essentially pushed beyond his actual developmental level to his potential developmental level (i.e., zone of proximal development).

However, intersubjectivity falls short when applying it within the framework of Vygotskian scaffolding. In this case, an expert-novice dyad with the conscious intention of assistance and transference of responsibility did not exist. Henry was not deliberately trying to teach John how to handclap, nor were John and Roger assisting Henry because they were experts. The triad worked together to create music, in a sense, like a team with different responsibilities based upon their own interest and expertise. In this respect, Rogoff's (1990) view that peers serve as "cognitive facilitators" to collectively make decisions or share problem solving seems more appropriate (p. 183). Furthermore, I would argue that, in this case, *learning is not primary*, but a result of the social practice at hand, which is in effect, Lave and Wenger's (1991) definition of legitimate peripheral participation; participants are motivated for the activity to succeed, and in so doing, learn in the process.

In the downtown girls' dance practice discussed earlier, Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of legitimate peripheral participation can complement Rogoff's (1990) concept of apprenticeship. In the previous example, the group collectively decided that

Sable should demonstrate the dance because she had the most skill and knowledge of "Jumpin', Jumpin';" Sable was the model for observation and was a "full participant" in the community of practice, as suggested by Lave and Wenger (p. 37, 1991). Giselle attempted to fill a similar role as Sable; she had the determination and effort, but did not possess the necessary skills and knowledge. Tazha seemed to recognize her own limitations in expertise, as well as her relative "newness" as a member of the group, and separated herself spatially while participating in dancing and singing. Roxanne and Rochelle were content to observe the dance while providing the recorded music for the dancers and singing along. In this scene, all members of the group participated to various degrees providing support to one another in different ways. What seems critical, though, is that the purpose of this activity was the *goal of full participation* by all members at some point. In this dance, the girls were motivated to learn and become involved to greater extents. As Lave and Wenger (1991) explain, "Moving toward full participation in practice involves not just a greater commitment of time, intensified effort, more and broader responsibilities within the community, and more difficult and risky tasks, but, more significantly, an increasing sense of identity as a master practitioner," (p.111).

Community participation in African and African-American circles, whether musical or not, is common, even expected. For example, African-American children in Haight's (1999) study participated in their Sunday School classes through call-and-response sequences of biblical text, a frequently used technique in African singing. Turino (1997) explains that a collective community effort among the Shona people of Zimbabwe is needed for a successful *bira* ceremony, including *mbira* playing, singing, hand clapping, dancing, and participating through other means, in order to create the

intensity and energy needed for spirit possession (pp. 164-165). Traditional African music and dances are often participatory in nature obscuring the lines between performer and audience (Nicholls, 1996, p. 44). In fact, Chernoff (1979) argues that Africans participate in various ways appropriate to the musical and social situation, whether that situation is good or bad, because the participation offers them opportunities for expressing their opinions. "They make a contribution to the success of the occasion, and they behave with the understanding that what they do is an act of artistic participation as well," (Chernoff, 1979, p. 153). To not participate may actually have the unintended consequence of community ostracism, as in the case of Fordham's (1993) African-American girls who dissociated themselves from "those loud Black girls" in order to succeed academically. By doing so, the girls who behaved in ways keeping with academically successful students were no longer accepted in their former social circles.

Participants and Group Structure: Differences in Learning Between Peers and Friends

The groups of participants in this study were quite different in that the Saguaro school participants were requested to be part of the study group merely because their enrollment forms indicated that they were African American. These children were from the same school, however, they were from different grades and classrooms, and did not necessarily socialize with one another. Aside from the two pairs of participants who were siblings, it was not obvious that any of the participants spent any time with one another outside of our half-hour meeting each week. Because of the lack of experience with one another, overall the group had a very difficult time working together. They usually did not know how to begin a task; they were shy and seemed uncomfortable with one another, rarely talked at the beginning of our sessions, and often acted as if they were

participating in a school music class, rather than a free-choice music group. They did very little spontaneous music making, and I usually had to ask them to demonstrate activities for me. This discomfort changed over time, though. After the group had met for several sessions, they began to socialize with one another during our meetings and cooperate more easily.

To illustrate, a session not detailed in Chapter Five consisted of giving the school children xylophones and mallets to use and asking them if they could figure out how to play the tune of any songs they knew on the xylophone. I divided the children into two groups roughly equal in number based upon where they had decided to sit and gave them time to work together as they saw fit. The participants did have prior experience with xylophones and ear training in music class, so I did not think that the request would be outside their capabilities. What I observed, however, was little focus on the task at hand and no individual who stood out as a guide to the others in either group; neither group was able to perform a tune to a song on the xylophones. Perhaps, because the problem given to the participants was created by me and was not one in which they might practice outside of the school context, the groups were unable to readily draw upon their skills. However, my impression was that beyond these limitations, the groups were not successful because they did not have enough familiarity with one another to cooperatively succeed. Furthermore, and possibly more importantly, these children were peers, but they were not necessarily friends.

The primary difference between a peer and a friend is that friendship is a reciprocal relationship; they share ideas, beliefs, preferences, and so on providing them with common ground and stability. Friends exchange, "companionship, sharing,

understanding of thoughts and feelings, and caring for and comforting one another in times of need," (Berk, 2000, p. 468), whereas, peers may merely be individuals who are similar or equal in some way, such as age, ability, or rank (Agnes, 2002). Because of these characteristics, "influence among friends is a mutual process" (Berndt, 1992, p. 158). Berndt goes on to explain that even when friends are in groups, decisions evolve out of discussion and consensus, instead of members following a majority decision or particularly favorable person (p. 158). In the school example above, the children did not seem to share a broad song repertory, nor did they illustrate ways in which to reach their goal—they did not show the ability to discuss and negotiate the process of their task. In addition, they seemed to lack the motivation to collaborate successfully through helping each other.

Now, compare the school participants with the neighborhood center participants. The downtown girls regularly attended the center during the summer months, and most of them had come to the center for a number of years. In addition, this core group socialized together at school, in extra-curricular groups, such as a babysitting club or church chorus, and in their neighborhoods. These girls were familiar with one another and had been friends for quite awhile, which initially set them far apart from the Saguaro participants in their ease of relating to one another. It was easy to tell when a group of children at the neighborhood center collaborated together merely because they wanted to work with me or desired to be videotaped because they did not have prior knowledge of working with one another and usually could not successfully complete any task they set out to accomplish. In other words, they displayed similar characteristics to the school group. The Ocotillo study group, however, worked well together to complete tasks or

solve problems, spontaneously made music together, seemed comfortable with one another—sometimes to the point that they did not have to talk, and were reflective in a metacognitive way about the dynamics of the group. In other words, if I asked them what was helpful or harmful to the group's success in working together, they could identify that knowing the lyrics to a song would help them remember the movements or starting again at the beginning of a song helped them to remember and build upon the dance.

The combination drill, "Smooth as Butter," and "Huh!" illustrates how friends working together differ from peers working together. (Refer to pages 130-133 of Chapter Five for a description of the drill.) Orchid, Afrika, Sable, and Roxanne had originally been taught these drills by two members of the neighborhood center staff the previous summer. During one session that was videotaped, Orchid, Sable, and Roxanne, were going to demonstrate the drills in combination, specifically so that I could record the combined drill in its entirety. During the performance, they realized that they did not collectively remember the drill. When the breakdowns occurred during their performance, the girls stopped to discuss, model, and practice movements together. Then, they would return to the "official" presentation of the drill. By doing so, they were able to perform "Smooth As Butter" and the majority of "Huh!," but eventually left off the tag ending, which could not be decided upon.

This makes sense when looking at the support one get from friendship as opposed to peers. Vandell (2000) explained the difference in these experiences when citing Newcomb and Bagweel (1995):

> Friends are more likely than nonfriends to spend time positively engaged with one another. They expend more effort to resolve conflict, spend more time on task-related activity, perform tasks at a higher level, and have stronger feelings of closeness, loyalty, and mutuality than peers who are not friends. (p. 705)

The girls in the drill example were invested in their performance and motivated to perform it well. To complete their task, they employed techniques of collective decision-making and mutual support through discussion, negotiation, and practice and were committed to the success of the activity.

Communication and negotiation. The level of intimacy and familiarity in communication seemed relative to the degree of social familiarity participants had with one another. While the downtown girls seemed quite comfortable with one another, to the extent that they could "argue a little bit" in order to resolve breakdowns in their musical activities, the Saguaro children were so socially uncomfortable with one another at the beginning of our meetings that they rarely spoke, unless absolutely necessary.

This reluctance to verbally communicate changed as time progressed—as the children became familiar with one another, they also began speaking to one another, which was clearly illustrated in Henry, John, and Roger's handclapping session from Chapter Five. The boys in that session were joking with one another, participating in and creating handclap rhymes, and negotiating with each other regarding the activity. This session, however, was near the end of our meetings and was probably one of the best examples of the group's verbal communication. Interestingly, the verbal teasing that occurred during that handclapping session between the boys might have been a way for them to affirm their own masculinity. In this case, the use of feminine words, such as "queen" in relation to the male participants displays a sense of masculine superiority and contempt for things feminine linked to ideas of male privilege and sexism, as in Thorpe's work with fourth- and fifth-grade girls and boys (1994, p. 168).

Verbal communication was used when directing either group's activities, but it differed by who initiated the directions. In the school group, I always requested or challenged the participants in some manner. For example, in one session, I provided them with a collection of instruments and asked them to play whatever they would like. In another session, I asked them to specifically try to play the tune to a song that they knew on xylophones. Following the initial request, the children sometimes spoke to one another regarding the activities, but this communication was minimal. More often, the group talked about topics not related to the activity at hand or teased or joked with one another, though again, talking, teasing, and joking did not begin until the group had worked together for several sessions. As the children were limited in the amount of time they spent together and did not necessarily have friendships prior to meeting in our group, this was probably a way for them to establish common ground and get to know one another. With the neighborhood group, however, the girls communicated regularly about what to do and how to participate in an activity. They were focused more on the task at hand. While I still requested them to show me certain activities, this was often just a starting point for their own play. Because the girls were friends, they also regularly joked with one another and talked about daily life, but it did not deter them from their musical activities.

Frequently, communication was actually non-verbal in nature; gestures, modeling, and spatial arrangements of the group often conveyed more than talking. The Ocotillo girls would often be quite close to one another when engaging in musical activities and would use gestures or movements to demonstrate or provide information to one another. For example, if someone needed to learn a particular dance sequence, one

of the girls might say, "Over here," and do the sequence correctly. Modeling was essential as a means of transmitting information to others in the group. If someone did not know a particular dance, for instance, whoever did know the dance would demonstrate it first while the others watched. This was usually done without talking or verbal explanation and would be done until the dance was completed or until the skill or knowledge limits of the model were reached. The next step would then be everyone participating together while checking her own movements with the model.

As the Saguaro children became familiar with one another, their non-verbal communication increased, though it never reached the degree of use that the Ocotillo group's did. To illustrate, while the participants often left chairs or spaces between them at the beginning of our sessions, they began sitting next to one another as the sessions progressed. They also showed each other techniques for using instruments without speaking (modeling), and used gestures, such as the open hands for beginning a handclap, to communicate with one another as time went on. It seemed to me that they were actually more comfortable using non-verbal communication, than verbal communication throughout the time they were together, perhaps because it was less intimidating in an unfamiliar group of people or because the children were less developed in communication skills due to their ages.

Cooperation and competition. Interestingly, I did not witness any participants guarding their skills or knowledge amongst one another, as Harwood's (1998) participants did. I admit that I entered this research with the foregone conclusion that knowledge would be guarded to a certain extent, as it might relate to hierarchy and identity within the community. However, the participants in both groups were very open,

readily shared their knowledge and skills with the entire group, and cooperatively created original material, when needed. The ways in which they interacted corresponded more with Addo's (1997) research on Ghanaian children's singing games in which the expectation was that all participants shared their knowledge with one another without hesitation.

The only potential protection of knowledge that was apparent was in the inclusion or exclusion of the group membership. The focus group at Ocotillo adamantly denied membership to younger girls, although they occasionally tolerated their younger siblings' participation. However, this may be related more to the peer pressures to age segregate. Also, the girls were not wholeheartedly attached to Tazha and Rochelle being members of the group. Tazha was the only member of the group who was not 11 or 12 years old, and Rochelle, her sister, was not a longtime friend of the other girls. Rochelle had been part of the original group of girls that had demonstrated drills for me and, by default, had become part of the core group. I believe that because she was one of the few girls in the 11- to 12-year-old age range, the remaining members of the group did not feel that they could deny her involvement. This sort of exclusion was not present in the Saguaro group, probably because they were all selected to be members by me.

Summary. To summarize, participation in each group was afforded for and constrained by different variables. Electing to be part of the group was not truly a choice for the school participants, but a manufactured option, whereas the neighborhood center group actually self-selected to be part of the central group and disallowed certain individuals from participating with that main group. The children at the school did not have the option of belonging to a social group outside the research group because they

lacked the extra-curricular opportunities, close living proximity, and shared friendships that the Ocotillo girls had. In addition, these participants were from different classrooms, and thus, only had minimally shared lunch and recess times with one another. There were two familial relationships within the school group, which were absent in the neighborhood group, and they did show a certain degree of comfort with one another. However, the fact that friendship formed the core of the relationships among the Ocotillo girls seemed especially significant in terms of their ability to work and play together, communicate and negotiate with one another, and cooperate with one another towards the goal of creating music and solving problems.

Familiarity and friendship among participants, then, is an essential piece to learning. In Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice and Rogoff's (1990) apprenticeships, legitimate peripheral participation or guided participation would be facilitated if the participants knew each other, and better yet, liked each other, prior to beginning a task. The familiarity brings prior understandings and previous experiences to the community of practice or apprenticeship network. This shared past helps to set up expectations and understandings for current and future interactions. The practical implications of task members knowing one another are significant in a music classroom. Music teachers, then, should incorporate group work when possible and ensure that students self-select their work groups. In addition, it seems important for children to have some sort of longevity in their groups, such as permanent assignments to the group or groups that continue beyond a single grade or classroom. These implications will be discussed further at the end of the chapter.

Expertise and Interest: Individuals as Sources of Information and Skill

As noted earlier, Turino (1993) described *guías*, musical guides among the Conimeños, as those individuals who not only possessed the musical skill and knowledge needed to lead the wind ensemble, but also had the commitment and interest compelling them to make music and help others to do the same. Similarly, Sugarman (1997) explains that Prespa Albanians learn to sing beginning at a very young age by watching and listening community members adept at singing. The progress of the novices, however, depended upon their *merak* ("passion") for singing—a combination of willingness and ability (pp. 74-75). Titon (1992) also notes how African-American blues singers "learn songs by imitation, whether in person or from records," (p. 136), and Koetting (1992) generalizes that Africans traditionally preserve music through rote memorization passing from expert to novice (p. 70). The foundation of oral music traditions such as these is the initial reliance on experts and gradual transformation of other members' expertise over time.

With the downtown girls, leaders or experts varied according to who was most proficient at a specific musical piece or in a specific genre of musical activity and who showed the most interest in participating. A case in point, Afrika was recognized as the best singer, although all the girls were able to sing along or lip-sync lyrics to recorded music proficiently and some participated in chorus. When asked about singing in an interview, Sable and Orchid immediately deferred to Afrika, which is when she performed the two gospel songs discussed in Chapter Five. When it came to dancing, Sable was usually the person everyone followed. Although Orchid was probably equal in dance ability to Sable, she was not present at the center as often. The fact that Sable

possessed both the skill *and* commitment to dancing supported her role as a leader, illustrated by her demonstration of or organization of nearly every dance. In handclaps and drills, all the girls shared leadership because usually one or two girls would be the most proficient at a particular handclap or drill. Whoever knew the piece best, would be the model. For example, Afrika and Sable knew "Hey, Potsy!" well, Orchid best remembered "Stomp That Gas!", and Roxanne and Orchid led "Smooth as Butter," and "Huh!" The sessions in which the girls tried to successfully jump rope together provide a contrary example to those mentioned above. In this case, the girls had prior experience with jumping rope, but they did not practice the games regularly; they did not show exceptional skill, knowledge, or desire for this activity. When asked to demonstrate any jump-rope games they knew, they were barely able to complete an entire task and actually deferred to an outsider—the friend of Sable's from Phoenix—to show them what to do. Thus, among the downtown girls, prior experiences, situated expertise, and commitment to an activity formed the basis of leadership or guidance during music making.

Continuing this line of thinking, one aspect that was obviously missing in the school group was any sort of leader or expert. When asked to complete a task, the children did not know who to watch or listen to. Therefore, they often hesitated or did not stay on track enough to solve any problem. Occasionally, a leader would emerge in a particular task, and the other participants would naturally follow, but this did not always occur. Additionally, the children had great difficulty working together, if a request was complicated or outside their experiences. On the other hand, if they had background knowledge of or practice in the task, they were quite successful.

For example, during a session in which I gave the children drums and asked them to play along with some music, Vashaun began playing a steady rhythm loudly enough so that the other participants followed his lead. From then on, whenever the kids had percussion instruments to use, Vashaun would take the lead. The children had experience with this sort of activity in music class in which the teacher would lead the children by modeling rhythms or playing along with students at a higher volume, and Vashaun showed exceptional skill in keeping the group together and maintaining a steady rhythm. Conversely, when I asked the children if they knew any songs that they could possibly play on xylophones in small groups, the children played aimlessly and did not come close to completing the task—they had no prior experience with this sort of activity in music class or otherwise to my knowledge. They had used xylophones in music class, but had never been asked to reproduce songs without written music solely based upon memory and aural techniques. In the handclapping session, though, so many of the children were experienced with these games that they all wanted attention from me; they wanted to demonstrate what they knew. They had experience with the games both in music class and in informal contexts. In a sense, they were all experts in this area.

Both groups of participants worked together to play musically. However, when experience or expertise was absent, success in terms of learning was rare. As Rogoff (1990, 1995) explains, learning as apprenticeship does not often take place in novice-expert dyads, as Vygotsky suggested, but as a network of novices and experts. A person who is a novice in one area, may be an expert in another. Furthermore, as Lave and Wenger (1991) posit, motivation is created by the desire to change one's status within the community through learning. The participants in this study showed skills and knowledge

in particular musical activities or pieces, and rather than having general leaders of a group, they acknowledged individuals as being proficient on a more specific scale. This sort of recognition and cooperation point to a community or network of learners, such as Rogoff and Lave and Wenger suggest, and allows for reciprocity that strengthens relations.

Valued Skills and Knowledge: A Source of Community Cohesion

The determination of value in musical skills and knowledge stem from what is valued within the social group and surrounding cultures. Cultural value is further established by historical precedence and demonstrated as common practices in social groups. As Wenger (1998) explains, communities of practice have shared repertoires that serve as a "source of community coherence," (p. 82). Wenger (1998) further explicates:

> The repertoire of a community of practice includes routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted in the course of its existence, and which have become part of its practice. The repertoire combines both reificative and participative aspects. (p. 83)

In other words, the shared repertoires tacitly lead one to understand what is valuable within the community of practice.

It was difficult to tease the repertoire out of the Saguaro School group because obvious physical aspects of practice were not always present. However, upon closer inspection, the children did have underlying shared practices that helped to form a community as time progressed. When dancing, the children used phrases like, "Get your groove on," to mean, "Start dancing and have fun," and "She's doin' a booty call," meaning, "She is really enjoying her dancing and is challenging other dancers." No overt explanation of these phrases was given, but the participants understood the meanings.

Dance movements that had been adopted from television were recognized and appreciated, although not everyone could perform them. Gestures, such as holding one's hands in the opening position to initiate a handclap or snapping at someone to gain her attention, were commonly used practices. Teasing one another, especially when improvising rhymes, was a very regular practice of the boys in the group after the children had become comfortable with one another. (The girls did not engage in the actual teasing, but thought that it was funny when it occurred.) All of the participants shared preferences for rap and hip-hop music and possessed knowledge and skill in dancing and handclapping. These examples provide coherence for the group, some of which was known and understood prior to becoming a member of the group, and some that grew out of continued interactions with one another.

The examples also point to what is valued within the community: rap and hip-hop music, dancing, verbal artistry and slang, and challenge and one-up-manship. The predilection for rap and hip-hop music and dancing is easily understood. One merely needs to look in any music store selling CDs to see the plethora of African-American artists available. Verbal artistry and challenge, however, are more subtle desirable aspects. Referring back to Chapter Two, Goodwin (1993) noted that boys often used commands and insults during play, possibly related to Thorpe's (1994) findings of boys verbally asserting their masculinity during these interactions. Furthermore, Abrahams (1974) and Brady (1975) assert that children in their studies valued verbal artistry in musical play, and historically, African Americans have used such techniques as far back as "pattin' juba."

The Ocotillo Center group displayed common ways of doing and saying from the beginning, rather than evolving in the way that the school kids did. These girls showed predilections for current and past genres of activities: dance routines, drills, and handclaps. They shared a common repertory of musical pieces, like the dance, "Jumpin', Jumpin'," and the drill, "You Want to Be Like Us." They shared verbal expressions such as, "She threw it all in there!" meaning, "She used all the dance moves for one dance." They appreciated and tried to reproduce music videos in their dances in many aspects, such as fashion, movements, spatial arrangements, singing, and storyline. They also expressed gender-related values, like thinness of body, fashionable clothes, pretty hair, use of makeup and nail polish, and appropriateness or inappropriateness of expressing their sexuality. In a sense, much of what they did was an expression of gender through performance. These commonalties formed the foundation for the community; they shared expectations, understandings, and skills.

Purposes and Motivation: To Play or Not To Play

Whether or not the participants in this study engaged in play is a complex issue. Hakkarainen (1999) points out the difficulties in conceptualizing play, and thus, motivation. In reviewing play literature, Hakkarainen includes the idea that children's play functions to prepare children for adult life and the opposing argument that play only exists if it is experimental and outside the norms of culture (1999, p. 231). Possibly more of a conundrum, play has also been described as bringing some sort of happiness or satisfaction, therefore people play (Hakkarainen, 1999, p. 232). With this in mind, identifying the participants' activities in this study as play or not play is difficult. Hakkarainen's (1999) argument may be most useful:

> My basic argument is that the motivation of children's play cannot be revealed either by describing general, universal functions and developmental needs of play or by carrying out careful, detailed studies of children's play processes. The motivation of play can be revealed only by analyzing the social construction of play in its cultural-historical contexts...Motivation exists in the properties of contexts, as well as in relations between acting partners. Motivation is a relational concept, and contradictions in different relations are essential. (pp. 247-248)

While Hakkararainen's (1999) assertion seems applicable to both groups of participants, I primarily initiated the activities of the school children, in turn, distorting the naturalistic features necessary for determining children's motivation. The following section will discuss the activities of the downtown girls, specifically their dance routines, which originated without any prompting from me, in order to understand their motivation for engaging in the musical activities and the functions that the music and dance served.

Who We Are: Issues of Identity, Power, and Sexuality

The downtown girls chose to participate primarily in dances created to accompany recorded versions of songs. Referring back to Chapter Five, the selection of songs the girls danced to the most were those of African-American women within the hip-hop style of music—the elements of the sound encompassed soul, r & b, rap, and house musics. When questioned, the girls explained that they were exposed to music by listening to the radio and compact discs and watching music television and movies. Although specifically talking about teens, Arnett (2002) cited the Horatio Alger Foundation's (1996) study in which listening to music was the "top activity outside of school," (p. 254) giving one an idea of how common this interest is. While music was either witnessed live or through recordings in the past, now music is also readily available by watching the countless number of music video television channels, such as MTV, MTV2, MTV Spanish, MTV Soul, BET, and VH-1. In addition, many musicians

are now participating in television, movies, and commercials outside the realm of music videos, such as Brittney Spears, Queen Latifah, Eminem, and Eve. It is important to realize, then, that the downtown girls are inundated with sounds and images in the media specifically related to music that may act as socializing factors. This is, of course, without even mentioning the wide array of print materials that are available.

Probably the most relevant issue related to music and identity formation in this study is sexuality and gender-role formation. As Arnett (2002) details, most music videos depict women as sexual objects who are submissive, while men are less likely to be objectified and are portrayed as dominant. One only needs to watch a current music video to understand this claim—women are often scantily clad and dancing in a highly sexualized way. The question, though, is whether the role that women are playing in music videos is one of weakness or power. Are these women using their sexuality as a tool to create their own identities, or are their identities being shaped by their own submission? Or, are identities and gender roles co-created from both sides? Attempting to answer this will help to illuminate the downtown girls' motivation for engaging in their video-like dances.

First, the participants' choices of songs for their dances were often performed by Black women who had become successful as recording artists. I believe that the women acted as role models for the girls, which was partially illustrated by the girls' awareness of and investment in the lives of the musicians. For instance, when speaking about the members of Destiny's Child, the girls brought up the recent issue of Destiny's Child having four members (Beyoncé, Kelly, LaTavia, and LaTonya) during the recording of the compact disc, *The Writing's on the Wall*, but then losing LaTavia and LaTonya and

adding a new member, Michelle, to the group for the following compact disc, *Survivor.* (The new disc had been released around the time of my initial work at the neighborhood center, and the girls wanted me to provide the disc for them. However, because it was so popular, it was sold out almost immediately and unavailable for the study.) So, the rumored story of the break-up was that Beyoncé's father, who was also the manager for Destiny's Child, was a tyrant to work for, so LaTavia and LaTonya quit working after about six months with the group. A lawsuit followed the break-up. Then, the next compact disc included Michelle and a song entitled, "Survivor," the title track, which alluded to the group "surviving" without the former members. The issue of the "refutation" song was settled out of court between the former members and Destiny's Child. This story applies to the girls because they were invested in the morality of the dispute. They discussed who they thought was morally right and wrong (e.g., LaTavia and LaTonya did not try hard enough) and what they predicted would happen to the members of the group (e.g., some thought Beyoncé was making a solo album). They also talked about Destiny's Child in terms of friendship, for example, if Beyoncé was recording an album without the other members, was that "right"? They clearly seemed to think that Destiny's Child was a group of friends who worked together, rather than seeing the group as a financial and career endeavor, and did not think it was fair or friendly for any member to leave the rest of the group.

Second, the choices of songs contained lyrics that applied to the lives of Black women in America and allowed for the girls to express themselves and experiment with who they were and wanted to be through song and dance. Lyrics contained references to what the daily lives of Black women were like, such as relationships, work, money,

children, and so on. (See Appendix N for lyrics to all the songs that the downtown girls used for dances.) An example of a song that the girls commonly danced to was "Bills, Bills, Bills," performed by Destiny's Child (*The Writing's on the Wall*, 1999), which talks about a woman having to pay bills that her boyfriend has accrued on her behalf because he does not have a job and has taken advantage of her:

> [Verse 1]
> At first we started out real cool
> Taking me places I ain't never been
> But now, you're getting comfortable
> Ain't doing those things you did no more
> You're slowly making me pay for things
> Your money should be handling
> And now you ask to use my car
> Drive it all day and don't fill up the tank
> And you have the audacity
> To even come and step to me
> Ask to hold some money from me
> Until you get your check next week
> You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
> Silly me, why haven't I found another?
> A baller, when times get hard
> I need someone to help me out
> Instead of a scrub like you
> Who don't know what a man's about

This song was one, like many others, in which the girls knew the lyrics and either sang or lip-synched the lyrics and created dance movements that kinetically demonstrated the text and positioned the girls in a fantasy role-play of the song's storyline. In fact, when talking to the participants about how they chose the movements for the dances, they agreed that it was much easier to create movements if they knew the lyrics indicating that they could "show" the words. In this case, the song allows for the singers/dancers to express their frustration and anger at their position, both financially and romantically,

while also demonstrating their power over the situation and man through their scorn and attitude.

The song lyrics to the dances also allowed for an expression of sexuality, which paradoxically served as a point of power and powerlessness. The lyrics to Mýa's "Free," (*Fear of Flying*, 2000) allowed for the singer to express her desires and independence, while also subtly indicating that these wishes might not be socially acceptable:

> [Verse 1]
> Everybody knows that yeah I'm kinda shy
> And I'm not the kinda girl
> Who could ever approach a guy
> But I wanna find a way to get you to notice me
> I got a four-wheel drive, 5'5", brown eyes,
> Then maybe you can handle these
> Because I'm free
> Free...single, sexy and sweet
> Makin' my own money
> Lookin' for the right party
> And if you're free...spit your best game at me
> If you like what you see
> Maybe I'll let you share my fantasy

The movements and stances of the girls were quite different when dancing to this song, as opposed to "Bills, Bills, Bills." In this case, the participants' movements seemed more feminine and alluring, although they still maintained the fantasy-role aspects of the storyline.

When addressing Lisa Lewis's (1990) textual analysis of African-American women, rap music, and music videos, Gaunt asserts Lewis's idea of access signs and discovery signs (1995): "Access signs appropriate the privileged experiences of boys and men...and discovery signs refer to and celebrate distinctly female modes of cultural expression and experience," (p. 287). For example, traditionally masculine roles or characteristics referred to in the music, such as paying bills or being sexually

promiscuous, allow women or girls to "access" and appropriate these male experiences, while using the uniquely feminine features of the lyrics, like being "silly," "sweet," "shy," and "sexy," afford the "discovery" and manipulation of culturally acceptable female roles.

Developmental Sequences of Learning

While the prior sections discussing music-learning processes are mostly cultural in nature, it seems necessary to at least briefly discuss the developmental aspects of these processes. To begin, specific musical skills did not appear to be age-related, however, engaging in particular musical activities did, specifically handclaps, drills, and dances. The Saguaro children demonstrated an extensive repertoire of handclaps, proficiency for creating handclaps, and the skills necessary to assist one another while practicing. The Ocotillo core group knew some handclaps, but explained that they had not practiced them since they were eight or nine years old. Furthermore, the six- and seven-year-old girls at the center did engage in them, but not very proficiently. With this in mind, handclapping games would be most prevalent among children between the ages of seven to nine years. This timeframe corresponds with Merrill-Mirsky's (1988) findings, but does not follow Harwood's (1992) conclusions arguing that age was related to the complexity of the claps.

The Ocotillo focus group mainly preferred to participate in music video-like dances. They possessed the knowledge and skills enough to create long sequences of movements, memorize and sing lyrics, and based upon the types of movements used in conjunction with the lyrics, understand what meanings and emotions the music was conveying. Younger children at the center showed the desire to do what the older girls

were doing, but they did not seem to have the awareness of music in the media that the focus group did; they did not know all the lyrics to songs, did not have complete understandings of typical music-video sequences, and were not as proficient at the dance movements. The Saguaro children did not practice any dances such as those shown by the Ocotillo focus group, although they were aware of popular music artists, songs, and specific dance movements. The concerted effort to create a larger music-kinetic piece was missing. Dances, then, would be most frequent among children ages 11 to 12 years. While dances, per se, have not been chronologically determined by other researchers, the influence of music and the media is supported by the work of Gaunt (1995), Harwood (1998), and Riddell (1990).

In between these two handclaps and dances in time are drills. While the Saguaro children did not engage in these at any point, the Ocotillo girls demonstrated them with the caveat that they stopped playing drills frequently about a year before the study. They did have a solid repertory of drills and could perform them well, but they showed a preference for participating in dances. In addition, other children at the center who engaged in drills were slightly younger than the focus group. Knowing this, drills could be placed in the range of nine to 11 years. This age range complements Harwood's (1998) research.

Since the activities themselves were not necessarily more or less musically or kinesthetically technical, looking at the cultural sophistication of the social group may be appropriate for understanding the chronological sequence. To illustrate, merely comprehending the impact of the lyrics of the songs that the Ocotillo girls were dancing to would play an important role in creating dance movements and sequences based upon

the text. Without enough exposure to the culture from which the music came, an individual would be hard pressed to effectively practice (e.g., refer to the lyrics of "Bills, Bills, Bills"). Drills are close in form and technique to dances, but lack the overt lyrical discussion of life, instead playing on words and asserting identity in a more subtle way (e.g., refer to "Mama's Havin' a Baby'). Handclapping is again similar in form to drills, although slightly less technical as footwork is not involved, but in an even more covert way makes statements about life (e.g., "Mailman, Mailman").

Summary

The analysis of this project's data leads me to argue several points. The first argument is that children learn music through participating to varying degrees within a community of practice. Like the literature previously cited regarding participatory music traditions and those discussing communities of practice in non-musical areas, the children in this study learned by physically making music, and the nature of their practice differed amongst individuals. This point is related to the idea that individuals within the group serve as sources of information and skill based upon their own expertise and interest. One leader of a group did not exist—leadership or guidance was shared among members depending upon the genre of activity or specific musical etude.

These assertions are further understood by the notion that the bonds of friendship strengthen communities of practice. While the school participants worked together to create music, the level of music making and problem-solving never reached that of the core group at the neighborhood center. The participants from the neighborhood center came from an already organized social setting and had built social relationships with one

another outside of the neighborhood facility. The characteristics of their friendships—trust, understanding, support, and so on—motivated them to work together and communicate in such a way as to successfully reach goals. Furthermore, having shared values helps to strengthen a community of practice by allowing members to understand and relate to one another more easily.

Now, whether or not the musical activities of African-American children can be considered play is undetermined at this point. The debate regarding whether or not play functions to prepare children for adult life versus allowing children to engage in activities outside cultural boundaries only convolutes the determination. Actually, it seems that the musical activities in this study worked to serve both purposes. Moreover, the activities did serve the distinct purposes of identity and gender-role formation and allowed for exploration in areas of power and sexuality, especially as they apply to females.

Finally, although specific musical abilities may not be chronologically developmental, engaging in particular musical activities is. While handclaps, jump-rope games, drills, songs, and dances all appeared among the participants, only handclaps, drills, and dances were performed regularly and showed some sort of developmental sequence. In this study, handclapping was an activity practiced by younger children, intermediate-aged children practiced drills, and older children practiced dances. Jumping rope was not engaged in enough to determine an age group association, and this may be due to the fact that jump-roping on the whole is no longer a regular childhood activity or one that is not popular amongst these children. Singing was definitely practiced by all the children, although it was practiced minimally outside of its relationship to other musical activities. In other words, songs in and of themselves, with no associated kinetic

activity, were practiced minimally. Thus, handclaps were most common among children ages seven to nine years, drills were practiced mainly between the ages of nine to 11 years, and dances were most frequent amongst children ages 11 to 12 years.

Implications for Practice

The implications for future music education are multifold. Firstly, and probably most obviously, African-American children demonstrate musical activities unique to their culture, and music educators should be sensitive to these genres and the nature of the practices if utilizing them in music lessons. To elaborate, it is important to make sure the content of the music is appropriate (e.g., a handclapping play representing African-American children), the context of practice is representative (e.g., having children work together in groups of more and less skilled partners), and an explanation of the practice is given (e.g., verbal artistry is important) if the goal is to educate students in a multiculturally comprehensive way.

On a more general scale of music learning, the idea that children learn through participation of varying degrees within a community of practice contradicts the notion of traditional classroom settings; didactic teaching should be replaced with collaborative and cooperative group settings. Further, the idea that communities of practice are strengthened by friendship supports the allowance for self-selection of group members, and if possible, creating opportunities in which entire music classes can work together to broaden the scope of networks. Since communities of practice use different members of the group as leaders depending upon their expertise and interest, providing musical activities in which the skills and interests of the students differ will draw on their

individual strengths giving them a chance to operate in a variety of ways within the group.

Because shared values helps to strengthen the community by helping them to understand and relate to one another more easily, children should also act or learn within their group as they see fit; music educators should try to facilitate this process by giving students choices in their interactions and modes of learning and facilitating their activities by providing resources, time, and space. In fact, if a true community of practice is the object, teachers should interact within the group as a learner as well.

Related to issues of value is that of identity. Children are future adults and as such, need to explore what type of people they are going to become. Using materials that give students a chance to explore their identities (i.e., musicians, texts, movements, music) and giving them opportunities to negotiate issues of identity with their peers will aid in this endeavor. Finally, the fact that the musical activities of this study's participants were age-related support the investigation into whether or not musical activities are popular, relevant, and/or developmentally appropriate for students.

Recommendations for Future Research

While I believe that this study provides insight into some specific attributes of music learning and activities, the limitations of the research and scope of the project constrain certain opportunities of investigation. One area that would be fruitful to develop would be looking at distinctions between communities of musical practice of adults and those of children. While much work exists that looks at participatory music traditions, the specific focus on children's groups are largely absent. Another avenue

would be to look at how friendship might facilitate growth within a community of practice versus a community made up of members who are merely peers. The workings of communities of practice have been studied, as have the characteristics of friendship, but the overlap of the two may be a source of information as to how group work can be better facilitated. Especially timely, investigating the music media and how it impacts children's musical learning seems critical. The children in this study, as in others, showed mastery of music from recordings, television, videos, and the like, while they rarely evidenced musical skills or knowledge from music classes at school. Something exists in this source of music that music education should look to. Along this line, how music and the music media affects or is used in identity creation and recreation, especially as it relates to power, sexuality, and gender roles, would be rich for study. Finally, these musical activities had age-related correlations, although not specifically developmental in a physical sense. It may be fruitful to look further into issues of moral development and stages of friendship that may be framing the use the musical activities in a larger sense. My hope is that this study will be a stepping-stone for other such work in music, education, learning theory, gender, and African-American studies.

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APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY LETTER FOR OCOTILLO SITE

Program Director
Northwest Neighborhood & Recreation Center
2160 N. 6th Ave.
Tucson, AZ 85724

June 4, 2001

Dear Director,

I am a music teacher in the Marana School District and a doctoral student with the University of Illinois. I am writing to you in the hopes that I might be able to observe some of the children attending your neighborhood center. Allow me to provide you with some background information.

Last year, I moved to Tucson from Champaign, Illinois, and until this summer, have been unable to conduct the fieldwork required for my research project. This project consists of looking at how African-American children practice music with one another in their daily lives (e.g., handclapping games, jump-rope rhymes). Then, this information can be used in music education curricula within schools.

One difficulty I have had conducting research here is discovering how small the African-American population is in Tucson. Due to the size of the population, I have had trouble locating students to observe, especially as a newcomer to the area. I have been lucky enough to correspond with Dr. Harry Lawson who suggested that I look into your center as a possible site where African-American children meet. This leads me to my request.

If possible, I would like to observe children who attend your center this summer, especially if they have free time that isn't structured by classes. At the beginning, it would only be watching the kids and taking notes on their behavior. If the observations go well, I would then ask to possibly videotape the observations and conduct interviews with select kids. If you agree to my observations, I will, of course, bring all the necessary forms regarding research involving human subjects to you first.

As a teacher, I realize how important it is to maintain the safety of your children. So, if you would like to verify my intentions, you can contact my graduate adviser at the University of Illinois. Her name is Dr. Jacquetta Hill, and she can be reached at the Dept. of Educational Psychology (217-333-8512 or 217-333-2245).

The purpose for my research is to focus on the activities and lives of African-American children—a group of people still sorely neglected in this country's education—and to bring to light the wonderful contributions of African-American culture as it relates to music. I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to involve your center as a site for my research endeavors. You may contact me at either of the phone numbers listed or write to my home address. Thank you for your time and consideration. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,
Dawn T. Corso

APPENDIX B

INFORMATIONAL LETTER FOR OCOTILLO SITE

Richard Sanders, Program Director
Northwest Neighborhood & Recreation Center
2160 N. 6th Ave.
Tucson, AZ 85724
(520) 791-3247

June 17, 2001

Overview of Research Project

The intention for observations and possible interviews conducted at the Northwest Neighborhood Center is to provide information relevant to the researcher's dissertation project for the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. This research focuses on how African-American children learn music from one another outside of school contexts, such as on the playground, at the neighborhood recreation center, and at home. The purpose for studying these processes is primarily to investigate musical genres and people often underrepresented in American music education and apply knowledge gained to existing music curricula in order to make it more equitable in the future. Some work has been done on the musical activities of African-American children and show that a variety of genres exist, such as handclapping games, jump-roping, cheers or routines, and rapping. However, the body of research is still relatively small.

For this project, I, as the researcher, will mainly observe the children during their days at the summer program. I will try to remain as unobtrusive as possible and basically take notes on the kids' natural behaviors. If these efforts are fruitful, speaking to some of them may be a possibility. Of course, I will create and give the center informational notes for the students in order to inform the parents of my presence and will only interview children with appropriate consent on the part of the director, parent, and child.

If you have any questions whatsoever, please don't hesitate to contact me at the phone numbers, e-mail address, or home address listed below. You may also contact my graduate advisor at the Dept. of Educational Psychology, Dr. Jacquetta Hill, if you would like to discuss the intent of my research. Any written product stemming from research conducted at your facility will certainly be given to you. Thank you in advance for your support and generosity.

APPENDIX C

PASSIVE CONSENT FOR OCOTILLO PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

July 6, 2001

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I would like to include your child, along with all the participants in the Northwest Neighborhood Center's Youth Program, in a research project focused on spontaneous musical activities and the musical learning process amongst children.

If your child takes part in this project, he or she will be observed and possibly talked to/interviewed by the primary researcher during the morning free-time hours of the youth program during the summer months. Your child's participation in this research project is completely voluntary. In addition to your permission, your child will also be asked to give his or her verbal agreement to be included in the research. Only those children who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part at any time. You are also free to withdraw your permission for your child's participation at any time and for any reason. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child, as the research only involves the researcher watching and/or talking to the children. The information that is obtained during this research project will be kept strictly confidential and will have no bearing on your child's participation in the youth program. The results of this project will be given to the center and made available to participants and parents/guardians upon completion.

If you have any questions, or if you do not want your child to participate in this research project, please contact me by e-mail (d-corso@uiuc.edu) or telephone (520-579-6666) or my academic adviser, Dr. Jacquetta Hill, by e-mail (j-hill@uiuc.edu) or telephone (217-333-8512). You may also contact Beth Tidwell, Recreation Assistant in charge of the youth program, at the Northwest Neighborhood Center (520-791-3247). I look forward to working with your child, and I think that this research may help to improve teaching methods in elementary music education.

Sincerely,
Dawn T. Corso, Doctoral Student and
Music Teacher for Marana Unified School District

APPENDIX D

PASSIVE CONSENT FOR VIDEOTAPED OCOTILLO PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

July 6, 2001

Dear Parent/Guardian:

I would like to include your child, along with other selected participants in the Northwest Neighborhood Center's Youth Program, in a videotaped portion of a research project focused on spontaneous musical activities and the musical learning process amongst children.

If your child takes part in this project, he or she will be observed and possibly talked to/interviewed by the primary researcher during the morning free-time hours of the youth program during the summer months using video and audio tape. Your child's participation in this research project is completely voluntary. In addition to your permission, your child will also be asked to give his or her verbal agreement to be included in the research. Only those children who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part at any time. You are also free to withdraw your permission for your child's participation at any time and for any reason. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child, as the research only involves the researcher watching, talking to, and taping the children. The information and tapes obtained during this research project will be kept strictly confidential and will have no bearing on your child's participation in the youth program. Tapes and papers generated from the project will only be used for academic purposes. The results of this project will be given to the center and made available to participants and parents/guardians upon completion.

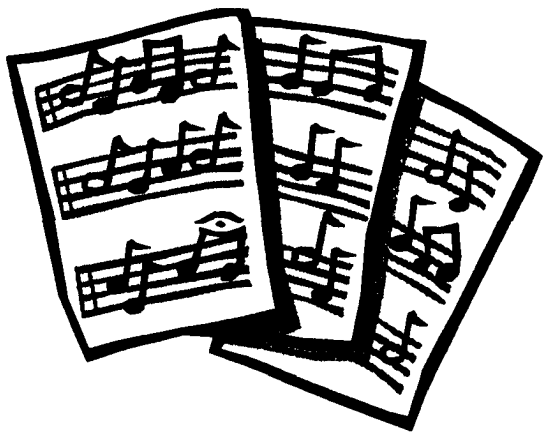
If you have any questions, or if you do not want your child to participate in this research project, please contact me by e-mail (d-corso@uiuc.edu) or telephone (520-579-6666) or my academic adviser, Dr. Jacquetta Hill, by e-mail (j-hill@uiuc.edu) or telephone (217-333-8512). You may also contact Beth Tidwell, Recreation Assistant in charge of the youth program, at the Northwest Neighborhood Center (520-791-3247). I look forward to working with your child, and I think that this research may help to improve teaching methods in elementary music education.

Sincerely,
Dawn T. Corso, Doctoral Student and
Music Teacher for Marana Unified School District

APPENDIX E

INFORMATIONAL LETTER FOR SAGUARO SITE

To: Parents
From: Mrs. Dawn Corso, music teacher



Feb. 3, 2001

Dear Parents,

I am writing to you to ask for your assistance. I am currently working on a research project that involves primary-aged African-American children, and I would like to include your student in the project. Your student was chosen because he or she is in first, second, or third grade, and you indicated that he or she was of African-American ethnicity upon enrollment. I have included a more thorough and technical letter detailing the research project, but essentially your child would just come to an extra half-hour of music per week to have a "free" music period in which the group chooses the activities. I have discussed this with classroom teachers and have been assured that the children would not be missing anything extremely important during this half-hour. In fact, the students will most likely benefit from the extra music time in a small-group setting. This research is part of the work that I am doing to complete my Ph.D., and I would greatly appreciate you and your child's assistance. As I mentioned above, there are more details in the technical letter, and I am always happy to discuss any comments or questions you might have. If you would like to reach me because you do not want your child to participate or for any other reason, my work number is 616-3030, and my home number is 579-6666. Thanks for your consideration.

Sincerely,
Dawn Corso

APPENDIX F

PASSIVE CONSENT FOR SAGUARO PARTICIPANTS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Feb. 3, 2002

Dear Parent/Guardian:

Although I am your student's music teacher, I am also a doctoral student at the University of Illinois, and I am currently working on a project that is part of my dissertation research. Your child has been selected to be a participant in this research project which is focused on the spontaneous musical activities and musical learning processes amongst African-American children. Your child was chosen because he or she is enrolled in first, second, or third grade at Desert Winds Elementary and his or her enrollment form had the ethnicity category, "Black (not Hispanic)," selected.

If your child takes part in this project, he or she will be observed and possibly talked to/interviewed by the primary researcher during an extra half-hour music period that takes place during school hours. During this "class," the kids will be given musical materials, such as instruments, to use as they will. The object is to see the kids making music freely, with no adult intervention and record these events. Thus, audio– and videotapes will be used. Your child's participation in this research project is completely voluntary. In addition to your permission, your child will also be asked to give his or her verbal agreement to be included in the research. Only those children who want to participate will do so, and any child may stop taking part at any time. You are also free to withdraw your permission for your child's participation at any time and for any reason. I will hold an informational meeting for parents and students in the near future in order for you to have the opportunity to discuss the project and ask questions.

There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child, as the research only involves the researcher watching and/or talking to the children. The time taken from his or her regular classroom has already been discussed with classroom teachers, and they see no problems with the students' half-hour absence per week. The students will benefit by receiving an extra period of music each week in a small-group setting, although it will be without direct instruction. The information that is obtained during this research project will be kept strictly confidential and will have no bearing on your child's academic record, in music or otherwise. The videotapes and audiotapes recorded during the research will only be used for the purpose of disseminating the project results, such as in an academic presentation. The results of this project will be given to the school and made available to participants and parents/guardians upon completion.

If you have any questions, or if you do not want your child to participate in this research project, please contact me by e-mail (d-corso@uiuc.edu) or telephone (520-616-3030 or 520-579-6666) or my academic adviser, Dr. Christi Cervantes, by e-mail (ccervant@uiuc.edu) or telephone (217-244-1830). You may also contact Ms. Jean Gallagher, principal of Desert Winds Elementary (520-616-4000). I look forward to working with your child, and I think that this research may help to improve teaching methods in elementary music education.

Sincerely,
Dawn T. Corso, Doctoral Student and
Music Teacher for Marana Unified School District

APPENDIX G

STATISTICAL INFORMATION REGARDING AFRICAN AMERICANS IN TUCSON, ARIZONA

Education

The educational attainment of Tucsonans is somewhat difficult to determine. While the city has census data on school enrollment and education levels, the number of university students and military personnel may be positively skewing data. At any rate, in 2000, of the Tucson population three years and older enrolled in school, 9.8 percent were enrolled in a preschool or kindergarten program, 37 percent were enrolled in elementary grades (one through eight), 17.2 percent were enrolled in high school (grades nine through 12), and 35.9 percent were participating in college or graduate school. Educational attainment in Tucson showed 19.6 percent of people 25 years and older not graduating from high school, 24.0 percent graduating from high school, 26.9 percent attending college without attaining a college degree, 6.6 percent having an Associate's degree, 13.9 percent holding a Bachelor's degree, and 9.0 percent having a graduate degree. It seems important to point out that on a statewide level for the cohort class of 2001, the four-year graduation rate for high school was only 70.8 percent. Furthermore, and possibly more significant, graduation rates varied drastically according to ethnicity, with Asians graduating at 83.5 percent, Whites at 79.5 percent, Blacks at 63.4 percent, Native Americans at 59.9 percent, and Hispanics at 57.1 percent.

Information regarding Blacks specifically was available from the *Statistical Profile of the Black Population* (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996). In 1990, 6,134 African-American children three years and older were enrolled in schools in Tucson (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 24). Of those enrolled, 4.5 percent attended pre-primary schools with 3.2 percent in a public preschool, 60.7 percent attended elementary schools with 57.7 percent in a public elementary school, and 34.7

percent attend colleges with 31.5 percent in a public college (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 24). Unfortunately, statistics were not available that compared these numbers with school-aged children who were not attending schools or colleges.

The educational attainment of Blacks in Tucson is somewhat bleak if the number of individuals not graduating from high school is taken into account. Of the 10,046 individuals 25 years-of-age and older sampled in 1990, 998 people had less than a 9^{th}-grade education and 1,457 had a 9^{th}- to 12^{th}-grade education without actually graduating (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 25). Individuals who had an education below a high school degree thus made up 24.4 percent of this population. 2,164 African Americans did graduate high school or received a diploma equivalent with 3,289 people going to college, but not attaining a degree (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 25). Of persons receiving some sort of college degree, 944 held an Associate's degree, 812 held a Bachelor's degree, and 382 held a graduate or professional degree (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 25). Combining these groups shows that 75.6 percent of the African-American population of Tucson had at least obtained a high school diploma or equivalent, and 21.3 percent of these people held some sort of college degree.

Families

Families, at 58.3 percent, as opposed to non-families, at 41.7 percent, primarily occupied households in Tucson in 2000. Of the family households, married-couple families represented 39.7 percent in 2000, a decrease from 44.5 percent in 1990, and females as the householder with no husband present made up 13.8 percent in 2000, an increase from 11.8 percent in 1990. The marital status of individuals aged fifteen years

and older in 2000 was divided between 45.3 percent who were currently married and not separated and 54.7 percent who were never married, separated, widowed, or divorced. Interestingly, the 2000 census incorporated a new category reflecting grandparents who acted as caregivers to their grandchildren. Although somewhat difficult to interpret due to a lack of prior data, it seems that grandparents living in households with one or more of their own grandchildren under 18 years-of-age amounted to approximately 2.3 percent of the population, and of that 2.3 percent, 44.7 percent of the grandparents acted as caregivers. The average household size remained steady between 1990 and 2000 at 2.42 people, and the average family size decreased slightly from 3.18 to 3.12 members.

Unfortunately, data on relationships between members of Black households are somewhat unclear, as separated statistics do not match the statistic totals. Nonetheless, it does seem clear that the majority of African Americans in Tucson (16,726 people or 96.3 percent of the total population) were living in households in 1990 (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 5). The remainder of the population (3.7 percent) was split between individuals living in group quarters (367 people) and those who were institutionalized (273 people) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 5).

Tucson's African-American population of individuals 15 years old and older was composed of 6,535 males and 6,004 females in 1990 (72.2 percent of the total population) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 11). The marital statuses of men and women in comparison show similar trends with a couple exceptions. One exception is that the largest category of marital statuses among men was "never married" (41.0 percent), while the largest category of marital statuses among women was "currently married" (34.6 percent) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 11).

The two leading categories for both men and women are "never married" or "currently married," but the proportions in each category are reversed for men and women. The second difference is that females show a substantially larger proportion of individuals who were "widowed" (11.1 percent) than males (2.6 percent) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 11).

Employment

In 2000, employed civilian persons aged 16 and older in Tucson made up 56.9 percent of the population, an increase of 16 percent since 1990. However, the size of this population on the whole in Tucson increased by 20 percent, indicating that fewer people in this age group were working or seeking employment. In addition, individuals employed in the armed services comprised 1.2 percent of this age group in 2000. Of the 2000 civilian labor force, management and professional positions made up the largest category of occupations at 32.0 percent, followed closely by sales and office jobs at 28.2 percent. The largest industry in 2000, by far, was educational, health, and social services at 23.2 percent, with the nearest follower at 12.5 percent—retail trade. The rate of unemployment in Tucson dropped from 5.2 percent in 1990 to 3.6 percent in 2000.

Of the 12,852 African Americans who were 16 years old and older in 1990, 8,389 persons were in the labor force and 4,463 were not (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 12). 7,673 individuals comprised the civilian labor force with 87.9 percent being employed and 12.1 percent being unemployed (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p.12). This compares to the White civilian labor force that had 92.8 percent being employed and 7.2 percent being unemployed (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 12). Employment rates in Tucson were much higher than the 1994

national employment rates where only 63.4 percent of Blacks and 67.1 percent of Whites participated in the civilian labor force (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 32). Work status for both Blacks and Whites in Tucson showed the majority of workers employed for 50-52 weeks (56.5 percent and 58.8 percent respectively) with most being paid through private wage and salary, as opposed to being self-employed or employed by government offices (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 13).

If African Americans in Tucson are broken down into gender and age categories in reference to employment, males and females have the highest percentage of employed individuals in the 25- to 54-year-old age range (74 percent and 66.8 percent) and the highest percentage of unemployed persons in the 20- to 24-year-old age range (11.5 percent and 19.7 percent) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 14). Overall, patterns of employment rates between men and women are similar.

The occupations of African Americans in Tucson in differ somewhat from those of Anglo Americans. The largest proportion of jobs for African Americans in 1990 was service occupations that do not include household or protection services (24.1 percent), and the largest category of jobs for Anglo Americans was professional specialty occupations (17.6 percent) (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, pp. 15-16). In 1990, the smallest percentage in occupations for Blacks was 0.7 percent, which included jobs in farming, forestry, and fishing, while Whites had the fewest number of people as laborers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers at 0.3 percent (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, pp. 15-16).

Income

Income in Tucson is somewhat bleak compared to national incomes. In 1999, the national median household income was $41,994, while Tucson's was $30,981—26 percent lower. The difference in median family incomes in 1999 was similar: the national median family income was $50,046 and Tucson's was $37,344, a difference of 25 percent. Poverty rates in 1999 reflect a significant problem needing to be addressed in Tucson. The 1999 U. S. average poverty threshold for an individual was $8,501. In Tucson, 18.4 percent of the individual population fell into this category. The 1999 average poverty threshold for a family unit of four people—two adults and two children—was $16,895. In Tucson, 13.7 percent of all families, regardless of number of family members, were cited among the poverty stricken, compared with the 10.2 percent national rate. For an individual adult householder with two children, the 1999 average poverty threshold was $13,423. In Tucson, 37.8 percent of all families with a female householder and no husband present with related children under 18 years held poverty status. If the related children were under five years, the percentage increased to 47.8. Clearly, the economic characteristics related to income and poverty is significant issues in Tucson.

For African-American household incomes, the situation is even less promising. Household income information has been collected for a total of 6,816 Black households in Tucson and compared with 132,148 White households in Tucson (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 7). Mean, median, and per capita incomes are somewhat lower for African Americans than their Anglo counterparts. For Blacks, the mean, median, and per capita incomes are $24,266, $17, 486, and $9,268 respectively,

while for Whites, the mean, median and per capita incomes are $28,622, $22,761, and $12,560 (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 7). When looking at an income distribution, both Black and White incomes tend to cluster around the $15,000-24,999 range (Blacks—21.0 percent; Whites—22.0 percent). However, 44.7 percent of Black incomes fall into ranges below this category, while 46.0 percent of White incomes are in ranges above this category. Distributional curves are thus skewed in slightly different directions. The disparity between Black and White incomes follows the same trend nationally, although the discrepancies are disproportionably larger on the national level. Median income for Blacks in 1990 was $20,684 compared to that of $34,529 for Whites, where 33.1 percent of Blacks and 12.2 percent of Whites were below the poverty level (Tucson Black Chamber of Commerce, 1996, p. 34).

Summary

The statistics in this segment were given in order to illuminate the setting for the sites and participants of this study. Although little of the information solely focuses on children, the central participants, hopefully it gives the reader a sense of the context of being an African American living in Tucson, Arizona. The stark numbers on these pages, however, merely represent the quantifiable, and not necessarily the cultural, milieu associated with living and growing up as part of a very small, ethnic minority within an old city of the southwestern United States.

APPENDIX H

SAGUARO TEACHERS' LEVELS OF EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION IN 2002-2003

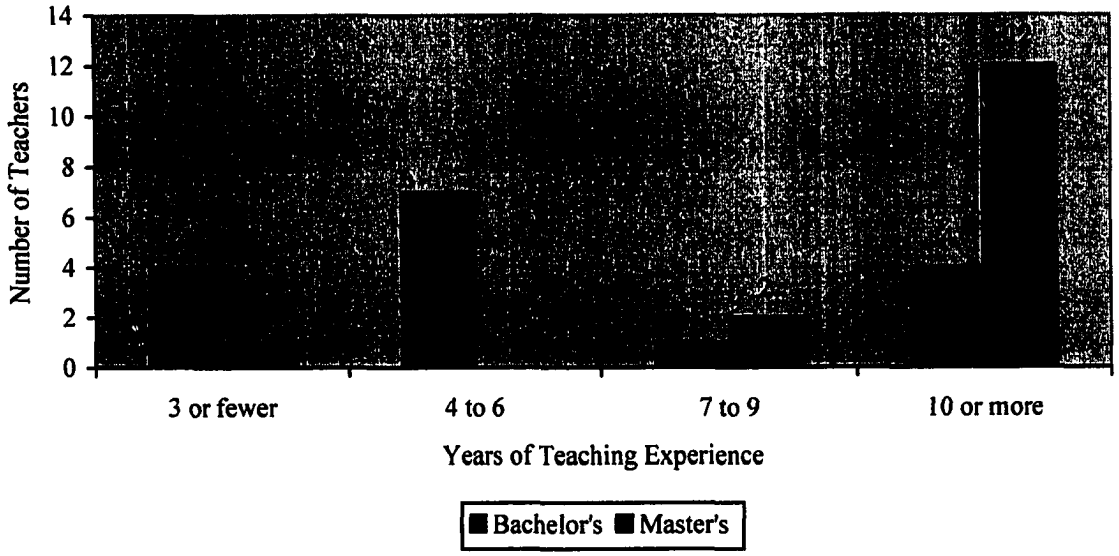


Figure H1. Saguaro teachers' levels of experience and education in 2002-2003.

APPENDIX I

2001-2003 ELIGIBLE SAGUARO STUDENTS FOR FREE AND REDUCED MEALS

Table I1

2001-2003 Eligible Saguaro Students for Free and Reduced Meals

Location	% 2001-2002	% 2002-2003
Saguaro Elementary School (K-3)	57.0	73.5
Saguaro School District (K-12)	37.0	26.0
U.S. public schools (K-12)	56.8	57.6

Note. Percentages are portions of the entire specified student population.

APPENDIX J

2001-2002 SAGUARO SCHOOL ENROLLMENT INFORMATION

Table J1

2001-2002 Saguaro School Enrollment Information

Location	Attendance rate %	Transfers out of school %	Transfers into school % (within district)	Transfers into school % (outside district)
Saguaro Elementary School (K-3)	94.0	21.0	2.2	0.3
Arizona elementary schools (K-6)	95.0	19.6	2.7	9.7

Note. Percentages are portions of the entire specified student population.

APPENDIX K

2000-2002 SAGUARO PROMOTION AND RETENTION RATES

Table K1

2000-2002 Saguaro Promotion and Retention Rates

Location	2000 promotion %	2001 promotion %	2002 promotion %	2000 retention %	2001 retention %	2002 retention %
Saguaro Elementary School (K-3)	99.0	99.3	98.9	0.8	0.7	1.1
Arizona elementary schools (K-6)	97.7	98.7	98.4	1.4	1.3	1.5

Note. Percentages are portions of the entire specified student population.

APPENDIX L

LYRICS FOR OCOTILLO SITE DANCE SONGS

"Case of the Ex" (Track Number 2, 3:56)
Performed by Mýa
Taken from *Fear of Flying*, 2000, Interscope Records

It's after midnight and she's on your phone
Sayin' come over 'cause she's all alone
I could tell it was your "ex" by your tone
But why is she callin' now after so long

Now, what is that she wants
Tell me what is it that she needs
Did she hear about the brand new Benz
That you just bought for me
'Cause y'all didn't have no kids
Didn't share no mutual friends
And you told me that she turned trick
When y'all broke up in '96

HOOK
Whatcha gon' do when you can't say no
And her feelings start to show
Boy I really need to know—and
How ya gonna act
How ya gonna handle that
Whatcha gon' do when she wants you back

REPEAT HOOK

There's no need to reminisce 'bout the past
Obviously 'cause that shit did not last
I know how a woman will try to game you
So don't get caught up because baby you'll lose

Now what is it that she wants
Tell me what is it that she needs
Did she hear about the brand new Benz
That you just bought for me
'Cause y'all didn't have no kids
Didn't share no mutual friends
And you told me that she turned trick
When y'all broke up in '96

REPEAT HOOK—3X

Tell me why she on the phone in the middle of the night
Tell me why she in your life trying to get what's mine
She don't know me, she's about to know me
I'm in your life and that's how it's gon' be
I seen her photo, she ain't even all that
So if you want her back, you can take her back
'Cause game recognize game, I can do the same thing
Get it right, change or take back this ring

REPEAT HOOK—3X

"Free" (Track Number 3, 5:18)
Performed by Mýa
Taken from *Fear of Flying*, 2000, Interscope Records

Everybody knows that yeah I'm kinda shy
And I'm not the kinda girl
who could ever approach a guy
But I wanna find a way to get you to notice me
I got a four-wheel drive, 5'5", brown eyes,
Then maybe you can handle these
Because I'm free

HOOK
Free...single, sexy and sweet
Makin' my own money
Lookin' for the right party
And if you're free...spit your best game at me
If you like what you see
Maybe I'll let you share my fantasy

Now I don't need a man in my life tryin' to tie me down
And I don't wanna playa who got kids all over town
Don't wan't his curl juice drippin' all over my Mercedes seat
I can't stand a man who thinks he looks better than me
I'm lookin' for a brother who likes to have fun
A fly gentleman who knows how to please a woman
The last think I need is a man that's soft,
He betta get it on up and break me off
Some a that fly high rise, 6'5", ain't shy,
And that's the kinda man I need
Because I'm free

REPEAT HOOK—2X

BRIDGE
Mmm...
If you're having a good time, just let go and don't be shy
Come on yeah...oh yeah
If you're down to do whatever
Then let's sing this song together
I'm free, oh come on and be free with me

REPEAT HOOK

CHANT
Everybody in the house...high rise
All the brothers up in her...6'5"
Gotta get in on up...Get high
You know you lookin' good tonight...tonight
All the ladies in the house...5'5"
Gotta show 'em whatcha got...thick thighs
Freak 'em on the floor...Get high
You know you lookin' good tonight...tonight

DISCO BREAK
Ooh boy you look so good to me, you might get lucky
'Cause I feel free tonight, are you available
Did you come here alone, won't you hang out with me
I'll freak you on the dance floor

"The Best of Me" (Track Number 9, 4:12)
Performed by Mýa (Featuring Jadakiss)
Taken from *Fear of Flying*, 2000, Interscope Records

He has a little game that he plays
Clever little ways and a hot boy style
Brags about the dough that he makes
Flash a little cash most girls go wild out
Lately he's been checkin' for me
Tellin' me how much he wants to be
Wants to be the one to replace
Replace the man that waits at home for me

B-SECTION
But oh no I can't let you get the best of me
Even thought deep inside something's dying to see
How you flow out them clothes and you put it on me

CHORUS
Feelin's comin' on strong
I know that it's wrong
I can't let you get the best of me
The best of me

So is he trying to play with my head
Tellin' me how he could blow my mind
Somethin' 'bout the things that he said
Made me wanna take it there one time
I should be walkin' away
'Cause his hand's up on my thigh
Should I leave, should I stay
After all it's just one night

REPEAT B-SECTION
REPEAT CHORUS

JADAKISS' RAP
I got so many bags of money that they won't fit in the bank
And I'm a do this just like Tony did it to Frank
But I'm a make sure both y'all win
Let 'em keep the place, you move and I'm gonna pay both y'all rent
So forget about the condo and come to the crib
'Cause the castle over the mountain come with a bridge
You, literally, we could go shopping in Italy
Hand on her thigh she ain't wanna get rid of me
And she don't drink or know how an L look, channel look, mix with the Pete Arnell look
You just stay pretty while I'm running the city
When I whip the V, you can hold the joint if you with me
Vacation costs a hundred and fifty, we livin' it up
I put it on you ass if you're givin' it up
And you know I'm not a hater and if you feel bad then you call him a month later
And tell him you all Jada's

REPEAT B-SECTION

You ain't gonna get to me
You can't get the best of me

REPEAT B-SECTION
REPEAT CHORUS
REPEAT B-SECTION

"Baby, Come Over (This Is Our Night)" (Track Number 2, 3:33)
Performed by Samantha Mumba
Taken from *Gotta Tell You*, 2001, A&M Records

Baby come on over tonight
We can make it all right
Take a piece of my heart
And go from the start

You say that you want me
Again and again
You say that you need me
To be more than just your friend
So I've thought about it
And maybe you're right
I've been checking your records
And they seem all right

CHORUS
Baby come on over tonight
We can make it all right
Take a piece of my heart
And go from the start
Baby come on over tonight
We can make it all right
Boy there's no one like you
Do you feel it too

Oh

So when we get together
If just for a while
Let's make it happen
Don't waste any time
And now I need to find out
What you're about
So come on over tonight
Let's sort this out

REPEAT CHORUS—2X

Baby come over
Baby come over tonight
Baby come over
Baby come on over tonight
Baby come on over
Baby come on over tonight
Baby come on over
Baby come on over tonight

REPEAT CHORUS—2X

Yeah, yeah, yeah

"Bills, Bills, Bills" (Track Number 3, 4:16)
Performed by Destiny's Child
Taken from *The Writing's on the Wall*, 1999, Sony Music Entertainment, Inc.

VERSE 1 [BEYONCÉ]
At first we started out real cool
Taking me places I ain't never been
But now, you're getting comfortable
Ain't doing those things you did no more
You're slowly making me pay for things
Your money should be handling
And now you ask to use my car
Drive it all day and don't fill up the tank
And you have the audacity
To even come and step to me
Ask to hold some money from me
Until you get your check next week

[KELLY]
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Silly me, why haven't I found another?
A baller, when times get hard
I need someone to help me out
Instead of a scrub like you
Who don't know what a man's about

CHORUS
Can you pay my bills?
Can you pay my telephone bills?
Do you pay my automo' bills?
If you did then maybe we could chill
I don't think you do
So, you and me are through
Can you pay my bills?
Can you pay my telephone bills?
Do you pay my automo' bills?
If you did then maybe we could chill
I don't think you do
So, you and me are through

VERSE 2 [BEYONCÉ]
Now you've been maxing out my card
Gave me bad credit, buyin' me gifts with my own ends
Haven't paid the first bill
But instead you're headin' to the mall
Goin' on shopping sprees perpetrating
Telling your friends that you be ballin'
And then you use my cell phone
Callin' whoever that you think's at home
And then when the bill comes
All of a sudden you be acting dumb
Don't know where none of these calls come from
When your momma's number's here more than once

[KELLY]
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Silly me, why haven't I found another?
A baller, when times get hard
I need someone to help me out
Instead of a scrub like you
Who don't know what a man's about

REPEAT CHORUS

BRIDGE
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Oh silly me, why haven't I found another
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Oh silly me, why haven't I found another
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Oh silly me, why haven't I found another
You triflin', good for nothing type of brother
Oh silly me, why haven't I found another

REPEAT CHORUS—4X

"Bug A Boo" (Track Number 5, 3:32)
Performed by Destiny's Child
Taken from *The Writing's on the Wall*, 1999, Sony Music Entertainment, Inc.

CHORUS
You make me wanna throw my pager out the window
Tell MCI to cut the phone calls
Break my lease so I can move
'Cause you a bug a boo, a bug a boo
I wanna put your number on the call block
Have AOL make my emails stop
'Cause you a bug a boo
You buggin' what? You buggin' who?
You buggin' me!
And don't you see it ain't cool

VERSE 1—A
Its not hot that you be callin' me, stressin' me, pagin' my beeper, you're just non-stop
And its not hot that you be leavin' me messages every 10 minutes and then you stop by
When I first met you, you were cool
But it was game you had me fooled
'Cause 20 minutes after I gave you my number
You already had my mailbox full

VERSE 1—B
So what you bought a pair of shoes
What now I guess you think I owe you
You don't have to call as much as you do
I'd give 'em back to be through with you
And so what my momma likes you
What now I guess you think I will too
Even if the Pope he said he likes you too
I don't really care cause you're a bug a boo

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 2—A
It's not hot that when I'm blockin' your phone number you call me from over your best friend's house
And its not hot that I can't even go out with my girlfriends without you trackin' me down
You need to chill out with that mess
'Cause you can't keep havin' me stressed
'Cause every time my phone rings it seems to be you
And I'm prayin' that it is someone else

REPEAT VERSE 1—B
So what you bought a pair of shoes
What now I guess you think I owe you
You don't have to call as much as you do
I'd give 'em back to be through with you
And so what my momma likes you
What now I guess you think I will too
Even if the Pope he said he likes you too
I don't really care cause you're a bug a boo

REPEAT CHORUS

BRIDGE
When you call me on the phone, you're buggin' me
When you follow me around, you're buggin' me
Everything you do be buggin' me
You buggin' me, you buggin' me
When you show up at my door, you're buggin' me
When you open up your mouth, you're buggin' me
Every time I see your face, you're buggin me
You buggin' me, you buggin' me

REPEAT CHORUS

"Jumpin, Jumpin" (Track Number 11, 3:50)
Performed by Destiny's Child
Taken from *The Writing's on the Wall*, 1999, Sony Music Entertainment, Inc.

CHORUS
Ladies leave yo man at home
The club is full of ballas and they pockets full grown
And all you fellas leave yo girl with her friends
'Cause its 11:30 and the club is jumpin', jumpin'

HOOK 1
Boys say you've got a girl?
Yes it's true you got a man?
But the party ain't gon' stop
So lets make it hot, hot!

VERSE 1 [BEYONCÉ]
Last weekend you stayed at home alone and lonely
Couldn't find yo man, he was chillin' with his homies
This weekend you goin' out
If he try to stop you, you goin' off
You gotcha hair done and your nails done too
And your outfit and your Fendi shoes
You parlaying at the hottest spot tonight
You're gonna find the brothas rollin' in the Lexus, trucks and Hummers

REPEAT HOOK 1
REPEAT CHORUS—2X
REPEAT HOOK 1

VERSE 2 [BEYONCÉ]
Call your boys 'cause tonight you're not gon' stay at home
So tell your girl she ain't coming tonight you're goin' solo
Cut her off is she talks some noise
You know you got the right to get your party on
So get your hair cut and your car washed too
Lookin' like a star in your Armani suit
You need to look your best cause you're turnin' heads tonight
You're gonna find a sexy chica that's gon' dance all night if ya wanna

REPEAT HOOK 1
REPEAT CHORUS

HOOK 2
Sexy women do your dance
Fly ladies work yo man
All them fellas in the club
Who can get down now?

BRIDGE
Bounce baby, bounce, b-bounce, b-bounce, twirk it, twirk it,
Shake baby, shake, sh-shake, sh-shake, work it, work it,
Twist baby, twist, tw-twist, you better dip that thang
Dip that thang

REPEAT HOOK 2
REPEAT BRIDGE
REPEAT CHORUS UNTIL END

"Say My Name" (Track Number 12, 4:31)
Performed by Destiny's Child
Taken from *The Writing's on the Wall*, 1999, Sony Music Entertainment, Inc.

CHORUS
Say my name, say my name
When no one is around you
Say baby I love you
If you ain't runnin' game
Say my name, say my name
You actin' kinda shady,
Ain't callin' me baby
Why the sudden change?
Say my name, say my name
If no one is around you,
Say baby I love you
If you ain't runnin' game
Say my name, say my name
You actin' kinda shady,
Ain't callin' me baby
Better say my name

VERSE 1 [BEYONCÉ]
Remember the other day
I would call, you would say
"Baby, how's your day?"
But today, it ain't the same
Every other word
Is "Uh huh," "Yeah, okay,"
Could it be that you
Are at the crib with another lady
If you took it there
First of all, let me say
I am not the one
To sit around and be played
So prove yourself to me
I'm the girl that you claim
Why don't you say the things
That you said to me yesterday

BRIDGE
I know you say that I am assuming things
Something's going down, that's the way it seems
Shouldn't be no reason why you're acting strange
If nobody's holding you back from me
'Cause I know how you usually do
Where you're saying everything to me times two
Why can't you just tell the truth
If somebody's there, just tell me who

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 2 [BEYONCÉ]
What is up with this
Tell the truth, who you wit'
How would you like it if
I came over with my clique
Don't try to change it now
See you've gotta bounce
When two seconds ago,
Said you just got in the house
It's hard to believe that you
Are at home by yourself
When I just heard the voice,
Heard the voice of someone else
Just this question why
Do you feel you gotta lie?
Getting' caught up in your game
When you can not say my name

REPEAT BRIDGE
REPEAT CHORUS

RAP WITH RODNEY JENKINS
Where my ladies at? (Yeah, yeah...)
Can you say that, come on. (Yeah, yeah...)
All the girls say... (Yeah, yeah...)
What? I can't hear you. (Yeah, yeah...)
All my ladies say... (Yeah, yeah...)
All the girls say... (Yeah, yeah...)
Break it down. (Ooo, ooo...)
Uh, uh, uh. D.C., take it to the bridge, come on.

REPEAT BRIDGE
REPEAT CHORUS

"Ride Wit Me" (Track Number 7, 4:51)
Performed by Nelly (Featuring City Spud)
Taken from *Country Grammar*, 2000, Universal Records

INTRO—REPEAT 8X
Where dey at?

CHORUS
If you wanna go and take a ride wit me,
We three-wheelin in the fo' with the gold D's.
Oh why do I live this way?
Hey, must be the money!
If you wanna go and get high wit me,
Smoke a L in the back of the Benz-y,
Oh why must I feel this way?
Hey, must be the money!

VERSE 1
In the club on the late night, feelin' right,
Lookin' tryin' to spot somethin' real nice,
Lookin' for a little shorty, hot and horny,
So that I can take home.
She can be 18 wit' an attitude,
or 19 kinda snotty actin' real rude.
Boo, as long as you a thicky, thicky, thick girl,
You know that it's on.
I peep something comin' towards me up the dance floor,
Sexy and real slow.
Sayin' she was peepin' and I dig the last video.
So when Nelly, can we go? How could I tell her no?
Her measurements were 36-25-34, yellin',
"I like the way you brush your hair.
And I like those stylish clothes you wear.
I like the way the light hit the ice and glare.
And I can see you boo from way over there."

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 2
Face and body front and back, don't know how to act.
Without no vouchers or boozers, she's bringin' nuttin' back.
You should feel the impact, shop on plastic.
When the sky's the limit, and them haters can't get past that.
Watch me as I gas that, 4.6 Range.
Watch the candy paint change, every time I switch lanes.
It feel strange now, makin' a livin' off my brain, instead of 'caine now.
I got the title from my momma, put the whip in my own name now.
Damn shit done changed now.
Runnin' credit checks with no shame now.
I feel the fame now. I can't complain now.
Shit I'm the man now, in and out my own town.
I'm getting' pages out of New Jersey, from Courtney B.,
Tellin' me about a party up in NYC.
Can I make it? Damn right, I be on the next flight.
Payin' cash, first class, sittin' next to Vanna White.

REPEAT CHORUS—2X

BRIDGE
Check, check—Yo, I know somethin' you don't know,
And I got somethin' to tell ya.
You won't believe how many people, straight doubted the flow.
Most said that I was a failure.
But now the same motherfuckers askin' me fo' dough,
And I'm yellin, "I can't help ya!"
"But Nelly can we get tickets to the next show?"
Hell no! What's witchu? You for real?!

CITY SPUD'S RAP
Hey yo, now that I'm a fly guy, and I fly high.
Niggaz wanna know why, why I fly by.
But yo it's all good, Range Rover all wood.
Do me like you should: fuck me good, suck me good.
We be no stud niggaz, wishin' you was niggaz.
Poppin' like we drug dealers, sippin' Crissy, bubb' mackin'.
Honey in the club, me in the Benz.
Icy grip, tellin' me to leave wit you and your friends.
So if shorty wanna... knock, we knockin' to this.
And if shorty wanna... rock, we rockin' to this.
And if shorty wanna... pop, we poppin' the Crist'.
Shorty wanna see the ice, then I ice the wrist.
City talk, Nelly listen. Nelly talk, city listen.
When I fuck fly bitches. When I walk pay attention.
See the ice and the glist'. Niggaz starin' or they diss.
Honies lookin' all they wish. Come on boo, gimme kiss.

REPEAT CHORUS—2X

OUTRO—REPEAT 4X
Hey, must be the money!

REPEAT CHORUS—FADE OUT

"Between You and Me" (Track Number 3, 4:10)
Performed by Ja Rule (Featuring Christina Milian)
Taken from *Rule 3:36*, 2000, Murder Inc. Records

Murder Inc. Shit. Uh, uh, uh, uh.

CHORUS [CHRISTINA MILIAN]
Every little thing that we do,
Should be between me and you.
The freaky things that we do,
Let's keep between me and you.
'Cause every little thing that we do,
Should be between me and you.
The freaky things that we do,
Let's keep between me and you.

VERSE 1 [JA RULE]
Yo! Now when I first met her,
All I thought was,
"Thong, thong, thong."
Like Loser Lang,
We can get our freakin' on.
Baby, you know the game slipped away.
Slide me your number.
It's the last day of spring,
See ya first day this summer.
I'm a bad mutha...shut yo mouth!
Pull the drop out,
Creep at a low speed,
Cuz homey probably know me.
I push the peddle,
Thought to yours to let 'em,
Way up in the air like I think he's here.

Cuz see, every time that I'm alone with you,
Homey be checkin' up on you.
But if that nigga only knew,
You've got a lot of freak in you, baby.

When that startin' to rain, I pop the roof and the champagne.
How Jay said, "Money ain't a thing."
It's been close to few, something even impossible.
But, it's been between me and you, baby.

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 2 [JA RULE]
Girl it's on again,
Every year, we hummer 'em in.
Beaches, houses, hoes, foes, friends.
And when the day ends, that's when it all begins.
You wit him. Here's my room key.
Holla at me.
Why ya thinka, thinka I'm gon' hit it up.
Then look at the nigga ya thinkin' ya love. C'mon love!
We could go there, me and you,
Free for, for a night.
If ya love it, in the mornin',
Awake with new light.
If I lookin' like I ain't gonna handle his,
Let me handle my bizz. It is what it is.
Nigga livin' his life,
And that's my bitch. Ya know I gotta wife.
Let's keep this thing tight, baby.

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 3 [JA RULE]
Don't let the word get out...shhh, baby.
This is strictly between me and you, baby.
If they knew we were doin' what we were doin',
It'd probably ruin our pre-rent way summer in Cancun. An' and I,
Love the way we get away—throw away a whole day.
Turn off the pagers and phones. We in the zone like:
"Fuck life. We live life.
This is our life. Live your life!"

[CHRISTINA MILIAN]
See, every time that I'm alone with you,
Shorty be checkin' up on you.
But if baby girl only knew,
You've got a lot of freak in you, baby.

[JA RULE]
Did I ever tell you, my man love what
you do?
That little thing with your tongue, you
the best, who knew?
It's been close to few, at times even
impossible.
But it's been between me and you, baby.

REPEAT CHORUS

"Put It on Me" (Track Number 4, 4:42)
Performed by Ja Rule (Featuring Vita)
Taken from *Rule 3:36*, 2000, Murder Inc. Records

Uh-huh...Yeah...Vita...Ja Rule...Uh, uh, uh
Where would I be without you?

INTRO [JA RULE]
Where would I be without my baby?
The thought alone might break me.
And I don't wanna go crazy,
But every thug needs a lady.

VERSE 1 [JA RULE]
Girl, it feel like you and I been mourning together.
Inseparable, we chose pain over pleasure.
For that you'll forever be, part of me.
Mind body and soul ain't no I in we, baby.
When you cry who wipes your tears?
When you scared,
Who's telling you there's nothin' to fear?
Girl, I'll always be there.
When you need a shoulder to lean on,
Never hesitate knowing you can call on,
Your soul mate.
And vice versa,
That's why I be the first to,
See Jacob, and frost your wrist up.
Now you owe me, I know you're tired of being lonely,
So baby girl put it on me.

CHORUS [JA RULE]
Where would I be without you? (uh)
I only think about you. (yeah)
I know you're tired or being lonely. (lonely)
So baby girl put it on me. (put it on me)
Where would I be without you? (uh)
I only think about you/ (yeah)
I know you're tired or being lonely. (lonely)
So baby girl put it on me. (yeah, yeah)

VERSE 2 [VITA]
Yo, and I appreciate the rocks and gifts that you cop me baby.
And that house on the hill when you drop like 80.
On a down payment thinking, "Damn, ain't life gravy?"
And ever since for my honey I been twice the lady.
What would I do without the nights that you kept me warm?
When this cold world had a girl caught in a storm.
And I accept when you riff when you caught in a roam.
And respect when you flip, 'cause our love is strong.
And when you hit the block, I watch for 10-4.
And when my pops asleep, you snuck in the backdoor.
Baby boy, we been down since junior high.
So when life get hot in July it's the world against you and I.
We ballin', tied together and never.
Heart from the heart, knew that it would last forever.
When you told me, you would never leave me lonely.
So baby boy put it on me.

REPEAT CHORUS

VERSE 3 [JA RULE]
Since we met it's been you and I.
A tear for a tear, baby eye for an eye.
And you know that my heart gon' cry,
If you leave me lonely.
Cuz you not just my love, you my homie.
Who's gonna console me, my love?
I'm outta control hold me, my love.
'Cause I'm yours,
And I don't wanna do nothin' to hurt my baby girl.
If this was our world, it'd be all yours, baby.
The thought alone might break me.
And I don't wanna go crazy.
'Cause every thug needs a lady.
I feel you baby cause them eyes ain't lying.
Wash away all the tears there be no more crying.
And you complete me, and I would die if you ain't wit' me.
So baby girl put it on me.

REPEAT CHORUS

APPENDIX M

VIDEO EXCERPTS OF MUSICAL ACTIVITIES

Excerpt

A Handclap Example from Saguaro Site: Henry and John's Improvised Handclap

B Handclap Example from Ocotillo Site: Afrika and Sable Clap, "Mama's Havin' a Baby"

C Jump-Rope Example from Saguaro Site: The Saguaro Group Jump Rope and Rhyme, "Cinderella," and "Teddy Bear, Teddy Bear"

D Jump-Rope Example from Ocotillo Site: The Ocotillo Girls and Friend Attempt Double-Dutch Jumping

E Drill Example #1 from Ocotillo Site: Sable and Orchid's Drill, "You Want to Be Like Us"

F Drill Example #2 from Ocotillo Site: Sable, Roxanne, and Orchid's Drill Combination, "Smooth as Butter," and "Huh!"

G Song Example from Saguaro Site: Henry and the Saguaro Group Sing Usher's, "U Remind Me"

H Song Example from Ocotillo Site: Afrika and Orchid Sing, "You Are the Only One"

I Dance Example #1 from Ocotillo Site: Orchid and Sable Dance to "Bills, Bills, Bills," by Destiny's Child

J Dance Example #2 from Ocotillo Site: Sable, Giselle, and Tazha Dance to "Jumpin', Jumpin'," by Destiny's Child

Dawn T. Corso, Ph.D.
Smooth as Butter: Practices of Music Learning Amongst African-American Children
Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Educational Psychology
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003
Appendix M: Video Excerpts of Musical Activities

CURRICULUM VITAE

DAWN T. CORSO
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EDUCATION

Ph.D. University of Illinois, Department of Educational Psychology
Division of Cognition, Learning, Language, Instruction, and Culture (2003)
A.M. University of Illinois, Department of Educational Psychology
Division of Sociocultural Perspectives in Education (1999)
A.B. University of Illinois, Major: Anthropology
Supporting Coursework: Psychology (1997)
A.B. University of Illinois, Major: Ethnomusicology
Supporting Coursework: Psychology (1997)

PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATES

AZ Standard Elementary Education, K-8 (2003-2009)
Music, Gr. K-12, Endorsement; Middle Grade, Gr. 5-9, Endorsement
AZ Substitute (2000-2006)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

First-Grade Teacher	Desert Winds Elementary School Marana Unified School District Tucson, AZ (2003-2004)
General Music Teacher	Desert Winds Elementary, Picture Rocks Intermediate, & Roadrunner Elementary Schools Marana Unified School District Tucson, AZ (2001-2003)
Fifth-Grade Teacher	Mesquite Elementary School Casa Grande Elementary School District Casa Grande, AZ (2000-2001)
Preschool Director	Kids Forever Learning Center Tucson, AZ (2001)
Supervising Teaching Assistant	Department of Educational Psychology University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana, IL (1997-2000)
Preschool & Music Teacher	Chesterbrook Academy Champaign, IL (1996-1997)
After-School Teacher	Happi-Time Daycare Champaign, IL (1995-1996)

HONORS & AWARDS

Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching Award	University of Illinois (2000)
Outstanding Teacher Ranking by Students	University of Illinois (1997-2000)
Graduate Teaching Certificate	University of Illinois (1999)
Harold Clements Jr. Memorial Scholarship	Lincoln Land Comm. College (1990-1992)
Preston Lord Scholarship	University of Illinois (1989)

ACTIVITIES & MEMBERSHIPS

National Education Association	Music Teachers National Association
Arizona Education Association	Society for Ethnomusicology
Marana Education Association	American Anthropological Association
American Educational Research Association	Council on Anthropology & Education
Music Educators National Conference	PTO Representative, Desert Winds Elementary
Arizona Music Education Association	CMT Liaison, Desert Winds Elementary

PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTED RESEARCH, & GUEST LECTURES

Doctoral Dissertation	*Smooth as Butter: Practices of Music Learning Amongst African-American Children,* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (2003).
Presentation	"An Introduction to Shona Mbira Music for Music Teachers," Marana Unified School District In-Service, Tucson, AZ (2003).
Presentation	"Standards Reports and the MUSD Music Curriculum," Marana Unified School District In-Service, Tucson, AZ (2002).
Journal Article	"A Response to Carolyn Livingston's 'Naming Country Music: An Historian Looks at Meanings Behind the Labels,'" *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 9 (2), 43-44 (2001).
Journal Abstract	"The Ideas and Practices of Elementary General Music Teachers Regarding Multicultural Education," *Illinois Music Educator*, 60 (3), 71 (2000).
Poster Presentation	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices Regarding Multicultural Education of Elementary General Music Teachers," American Anthropology Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA (2000).
Research Presentation	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices of Elementary General Music Teachers Regarding Multicultural Education," Illinois Music Educators All-State Conference, Peoria, IL (2000).
Poster Presentation	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices of Elementary General Music Teachers Regarding Multicultural Education," Illinois Music Educators All-State Conference, Peoria, IL (2000).
Paper Response	"A Response to Carolyn Livingston's 'Naming Country Music: An Historian Looks at Meanings Behind the Labels,'" Philosophy of Music Education International Symposium IV, Birmingham, UK (2000).
Guest Lecture	"Multicultural Education and African-American Studies," Dept. of African-American Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1999).
Proceedings	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices Regarding Multicultural Education of Elementary General Music Teachers," *Cultural Interpretation and Contemporary Music Education: The Bowling Green State University Symposium on Music Teaching and Research*, 4, 42-68 (1999).
Research Presentation	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices Regarding Multicultural Education of Elementary General Music Teachers," The Bowling Green State University Symposium on Music Teaching and Research, Bowling Green, OH (1999).

Master's Thesis	*An Examination of the Ideas and Practices Regarding Multicultural Education of Elementary General Music Teachers in Champaign County, Illinois, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* (1999).
Research Presentation	"An Examination of the Ideas and Practices Regarding Multicultural Education of Elementary General Music Teachers," Department of Educational Psychology Brownbag Lectures, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1999).
Guest Lecture	"Practicing Multiculturalism in Music Education Classrooms," Department of Music Education, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (1999).